

# HUGH PETER



*Hu: peter*



Class \_\_\_\_\_

Book \_\_\_\_\_



















HUGH PETER

From the original portrait in the possession of C. E. Treffry Esquire  
of Place Fowey, Cornwall, England

# HUGH PETER

PREACHER, PATRIOT, PHILANTHROPIST

FOURTH PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH  
IN SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

"I have lived in a Country where in seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor looked upon a drunkard."--*God's Things and Man's Duty*.—HUGH PETER.

---

## A MOSAIC

PUT  
TOGETHER  
BY

ELEANOR BRADLEY PETERS

(MRS. EDWARD MCCLURE PETERS)

---

NEW YORK  
Privately printed  
1902

II A407

1840

FROM VOLUME XXXVIII  
OF THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE  
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.



## WORDS FROM THE WORKMAN.

---

THE workman on this mosaic has tried, bit by bit, to build up a portrait and, in a general way, a life of this interesting man. The result is necessarily rough and incomplete, but a nicer finish would only amplify without adding value to these pages. The end in view was not elaboration or beauty of style, but exactness, and a near and correct sight of our subject, through his friends, acquaintances and himself. Although but six years in this country, he yet left a lasting stamp of his own work and life upon New England; add to this the fact that to the end he spoke of New England as "home," and we may freely claim him as one of the founders of our Commonwealth and common country.

The workman has sought to sink himself in his subject, and hardly more than two or three pages are in his own words; all else is in the language of others;—as far as possible in the words of those who lived intimately, or at least contemporaneously, with Hugh Peter. No eulogy is attempted, facts are given and the reader can weigh for himself.

A man of Peter's restless and varied activity, was certain both to say and to do too much; of this he himself was fully conscious, and at the last deplored his lack of judgment and excess of zeal; but these errors stand alone against him. He did a vast amount of real and far-

reaching good during his life, and that of a kind little thought of in those days. Indeed, the only cause one can find for the exceeding and venomous hatred displayed against him, lies in the catholicity of his thought, feeling and action, and in his remarkably practical and common-sense views and suggestions, whereby he belonged, in spirit, if not in body, not to the seventeenth century, but fully to our own day.

The compiler is indebted to the papers of the late Edmund Fanning Peters for certain extracts which have been used in this article and which it might have been difficult to find elsewhere. The portrait of Hugh Peter is due to the courtesy of C. E. Treflry, Esquire, of Place, Fowey, Cornwall, England. The Rev. Sidney Hubbell Treat has also, through the loan of certain interesting old volumes, contributed to these pages.

New York, March 1, 1902.

E. B. P.

HUGH PETER



*This edition is limited to one hundred  
and fifty copies on hand-made  
paper, for the author.*

# HUGH PETER.

1598-1660.

"I WAS the son of considerable parents, from Fowey in Cornwall, my father a merchant, his ancestors driven thence from Antwerp for religion — I mean the reformed ; my mother of the same town of a very ancient family, the name Treffrey of Place,—or the place in that town of which I would not boast." Thus writes Hugh Dirkwood, otherwise Hugh Peter. He was baptized in the parish of St. Ewe, in Fowey, the entry in the parish record reading thus : " Anno RR. Elizabeth '41—Hugh the son of Thomas Dirkwood, baptized 7th June 1598," and the accompanying note : " Otherwise Hugh Peters, Chaplain and adviser to Oliver Cromwell ; beheaded by Charles II, on Tower Hill. J. J. T."\*

He was the third child and second son of Thomas Dirkwood and Martha Treffrey, she being a descendant of Sir John Treffrey who, in the 14th century, defended Fowey against the French. Why and when Thoma Dirkwood changed his name to Peter no one knows ; bu

\* Error: he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Charing Cross. The initials are supposed to be those of the Rev. Justin Treffrey, and the date 1668-1698.

the time was evidently between 1599 and 1610 ; perhaps about the period that Martha Trefrey's sister, Deborah, marries Henry Peter.\* M. P. for Fowey, who descended from a sister of the Sir William Peter, famous as having been "secretary and of the Privy Council to four kings and queens of this realm, and seven times ambassador abroad in foreign lands." He was also appointed one of the trustees for the young king, in the will of Henry VIII.

Whatever the exact status of the Dirkwoods towards the Peters it is certain that Hugh Peter assumed not only the name but the coat of arms of that family. Perhaps Henry Peter, M. P. for Fowey, is the uncle he mentions in the sketch of his life in the Last Legacy.†

"These‡ lived in very great abundance : their Losses at Sea grew very great ; in the midst of which Losses, my elder Brother being at Oxford,§ I was sent to Cambridge, and that Estate I had by an Uncle, I left with my Mother, and lived at the University, and a little from thence, about eight years : took my degree of Master of Arts, where I spent some years vainly enough, being but 14 years old when thither I came ; my Tutor died, and I was expos'd to my shifts."

He was at Trinity College, and took his degree of B.A., in 1616. In 1622, he received the degree of A.M., but to continue in his own words : "Coming from thence [Cambridge], at London God struck me with the sense of my sinful estate, by a Sermon I heard under Pauls, which is about 40 years since [consequently in 1620] which Text was The burden of Dumah, or Idumea, and stuck fast. This made me to go into Essex ; And after being quieted by another Sermon in that Country, and the Love and Labours of Mr. Thomas Hooker, I there Preacht, there married with a good Gentlewoman, till I went to London to ripen my Studies, not intending to preach at all ; where I attended Dr. George Sibs, and Davenports Ministry, with others, and I hope with some profit. But in short time was forced to preach by importunity of

\* During the civil war Thomas Peter, son of Henry Peter and Deborah Trefrey, was on the royalist side. He was at one time a prisoner in the Tower, from which he was rescued through the influence of his first cousin, Hugh Peter.

† "A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Only Child."

‡ His family.

§ Thomas.



Friends, having had a Licence from Dr. Mountain Bishop of London before, and to Sepulchers I was brought by a very strange providence, for preaching before at another place and a young man receiving some good would not be satisfied, but I must preach at Sepulchers once monthly for the good of his Friends; in which he got his end (if I might not shew vanity) and he allowed Thirty pounds per Annum to that Lecture, but his person unknown to me: he was a Chandler, and dyed a good man, and Member of Parliament. At this Lecture the Resort grew so great that it contracted envie and anger: Though I believe above an hundred every week were perswaded from sin to Christ.

I wish I may not be judged for saying so: There was six or seven thousand Hearers, and the Circumstances fit for such good work. But I am tender; there I had some trouble, who could not conform to all: and went to Holland, where I was five or six years, not without the presence of God in my Work; But many of my Acquaintance going for New England had engaged me to come to them when they sent, which accordingly I did: And truly my reason for myself and others to go, was merely, not to offend Authority in the difference of Judgment; and had not the Book for Encouragement of Sports on the Sabbath come forth, many had staid. That good man, my dear firm Friend, Mr. White of Dorchester, and Bishop Lake, occasioned, yea, founded that Work, and much in reference to the Indians, of which we did not fail to attempt, with good success to many of their souls through God's blessing. See Bishop Lake's Sermon, 1 King, 8.37. who profest to Mr. White of Dorchester, he would go himself with us, but for his age, for which he had the late King's gracious Patent, Licence and Encouragement. There I continued seven years."\*

Felt's memoir of Peter states that he prayed for the Queen at St. Sepulcher's, saying "that as she came into the Goshen of safety, so the light of Goshen might shine into her soul, and that she might not perish in the day of Christ." This came to Laud's ears who forbade Peter's

\* Quotations are made exactly as found, though many are so confusedly expressed and so bristle with pronouns that they are sadly in need of order and clearness. The compiler, however, dares not meddle with them.

ministry and had him confined in the New Prison for "some time before any articles were exhibited against him. Though certain noblemen offered bail for him it was refused."

In 1627, Aug. 17, before going to Holland, being suspected of heterodoxy, "he subscribed a submission and protestation addressed to the Bishop of London, setting forth his admission to the doctrine and discipline of the English government and his acceptance of the episcopal government."\*

He was one of the earliest members of the Massachusetts Bay Company. In May, 1628, he subscribed to the joint stock of the Plantation, and he was one of the fourteen who signed the first instructions to Endecott, Sept. 13, 1628. He also attended the Courts of the Company, held on the 11th and 13th of May, 1629.

List of Subscribers. "In the name of god [sic] Amen.  
London, May, 1628.

Sundrie men owe vnto the general stock of the adventurers for plantacon intended att Massachusetts Bay in New England, in America the some of tow thousand one hundreth and fiftie pound. And is for soe much vnderteken by the pticuler persons menconed hereafter, by there seuerall and generall stock for the aforesaid plantacon. Subscripcons to be by them adventured. In this point, where vnto the Almighty grant prosperous and happie Success, that the same may redound to his glorie, the propagation of the Gospell of Christ, and the particular good of the seuerall Adventurers, that now are or hereafter shall be Interested therein. The persons now to be made debtors to the generall Stock being as followeth :

Sr. Rich'd Saltonstall, Knt, oweth	100 £
Mr Isacke Johnson Esqr	100
Mr Samuel Aldersey	50
John Venn	50
Hugh Peter	50 "
[and others.]	

Letter from Mathew Cradock to Capt. John Endecott,  
"from my house in Swithens Lane neare London stone

\* Dictionary of National Biography.

this 16th February, 1628-9. . . . But for Mr Peters, he is now in Holland from whence his return hither I hold to be uncertain."

In Holland, Peter was pastor of an Independent church in Rotterdam. There he made the acquaintance of John Forbes, a noted Presbyterian divine, with whom he travelled into Germany to see Gustavus Adolphus, and of Sir Edward Harwood, an English commander in the Dutch service, who fell at the siege of Maestricht in 1652. It seems probable that he was Sir Edward's secretary.\* Sir William Brereton, who visited Rotterdam in 1634, describes Peter as a "right zealous and worthy man," and states that he was paid a salary of 5000 guilders by the Dutch government.†

On leaving Holland, he returned to England and sailed from Plymouth, in July, 1635, in company with the younger Winthrop, Vane, and others, in the "Abigail." Gov. Winthrop, in his Journal, says: "Mo 8, 6—arrived the Defence & the Abigail, ten weeks from Plymouth with two hundred and eighty persons and many cattle infected also with small pox;" in spite of which no deaths occurred.

Speaking of Peter's arrival, Winthrop says: "Amongst others came Mr. Peter, pastor of the English church in Rotterdam who being persecuted by the English ambassador,—who would have brought his and other churches to the English discipline, and not having had his health these many years, intended to advise with the ministers here about his removal."

That he was pursued while in England is evident from a letter Samuel Reade (step-son of Peter) writes to John Winthrop, jr., from London Aug. 2, 1635, saying that he is thankful "alsoe for my father's [Peter's] escape out o cruell hands. We learn if you had stayed but 2 dayes longer my father would scarcely have avoided them for they had taken an extraordinary cunning course for his attachment."

"This yeere [1635] came over the Famous servant of Christ Mr Hugh Peters whose courage was not inferior to any of these transported servants of Christ, but because

\* Dictionary of National Biography; Harleian Miscellany.  
Travels of Sir William Brereton.

his native Soile hath had the greatest share of his labours,  
the lesse will be said of him here :

With courage bold Peters a Souldier stout  
In Wildernesse for Christ begins to war,  
Much worke he finds 'mongst people, yet hold out;  
With fluent tongue he stops phantastick jars.  
Swift Torrent stayes of liberties large vent;  
Through crooked wayes of error daily flowing,  
Shiloe's soft streames to bath in would all bent;  
Should he while they in Christian freedome growing,  
But back thou must, thy Talents Christs will have,  
Improved for him, his glory is thy crowne,  
And thou base dust while he thee honour gave;  
It matters not though the world on thee do Frowne."\*

Within a few weeks of his arrival, "Mr. Hugh Peters preaching at Boston & Salem moved the country to raise a stock for fishing as the only probable means to free us from that oppression which the seamen and others hold us under."† Two months later (January, 1635-6) we find him going from place to place intent on this same work, "and so prevailed as he procured a good sum of money to be raised to set on foot the fishing business to the value of [ ] and wrote into England to raise as much more. The interest was to set up a magazine of all provisions & other necessities for fishing that men might have things at hand & for reasonable prices whereas now the merchants & seamen took advantage to sell at most excessive rates, in many things two for one &c."‡

April 26, 1636, "The Charity of Dartmouth of 120 tons arrived laden with provisions. Mr. Peters bought all the provisions at 50 in the 100 (which saved the country £200) & distributed them to all the towns as each town needed."‡

Mar. 3, 1635-6, Peter was admitted freeman, with Vane, Shepherd, Rogers, Harlakenden and others.

Winthrop calls him "a man of a very public spirit & singular activity for all occasions," and adds that he "went

\* Wonder working Providence of Sion's Saviour. Beluga Relation of the first planting in New England in the yeere 1628.—Mass. Hist. Coll., 2nd series, Vol. III, p. 154.

† Winthrop's Journal, Nov. 26, 1635.

‡ Winthrop's Journal.

from place to place laboring both publicly and privately to raise up men to a better frame of spirit."

That Peter came to New England without any definite resolution to remain here is evident from the following letter from Samuel Reade to John Winthrop, jr.

London, March 5, 1635-6. "We wonder we haue noe certaine information whether my father Peter intendeth to stay with you, or to returne. It is necessary it should speedily be determined of, that his church may know how to dispose of themselves. Mr. Davenport supplyeth his place yet."\*

Writing to his son, 1636, 2mo. 26, Winthrop says "The Lord in much mercy sent us a ship the 12 of this present with provisions but she had put in at Pascataqua & sold much there; for she brought only 39 hogsheads of meal, 25 of peas, 8 of oatmeal, 40 of malt & some beef & prunes & aqua vitæ, & 18,000 of [unknown]. My brother Peter bought it all & divided it amongst the"† . . . . . ["about 16 lines are gone," says Savage, "the paper being thin."] Is this the same as the "Charity" referred to above?

When provisions are sent in the Rebecca to the "Governor of the Plantation upon the mouth of the Connecticut," amongst others is found "a hogshead of pork which my brother Peter puts in."‡

The same year, shortly after their arrival, "Mr. Vane and Mr. Peter finding some distraction in the Commonwealth arising from difference in judgment and withal some alienation of affection among the magistrates and some other persons of quality and that hereby factions began to grow among the other people, some adhering more to the old governour, Mr. Winthrop, and others to the late governour Mr. Dudley, the former carrying matters with more lenity and the latter with more severity—they procured a meeting at Boston of the governour, Deputy, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Wilson, and there was present Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and themselves."‡ The result was a desire among the clergy that Mr. Winthrop should be more severe, in the future, in his

\* Mass. Hist. Coll., 5th series, Vol. I, p. 217.

† Winthrop's Journal, p. 456

‡ Winthrop's Journal.



dealings with transgressors against the law, and ten articles were drawn to this effect.

May 25, 1636. "The Gounr, Deputy Gounr, Tho : Dudley, John Haynes, Rich Bellingham Esq, Mr Cotton, Mr Peter and Mr. Shepheard are intreated to make a draught of lawes agreeable to the word of God, wch may be the ffundamentalls of the Comonwealth & to present the same to the nexte Genall Court."\*

In 1636, Mo. 3, 15, "Mr. Peters preaching at Boston made an earnest request to the church for four things—1. That they would spare their teacher Mr. Cotton for a time that he might go through the Bible and raise marginal notes upon all the knotty places of the scripture. 2. That a new book of martyrs might be made to begin where the other had left. 3. That a form of church government might be drawn according to the scriptures. 4. That they take order for employment of people especially women and children in the winter time; for he feared that idleness would be the ruin both of church and commonwealth : †

"10-4 mo. 1636. "Mr. Fenwick . . . intends about a month hence with my brother Peter to be with you."—Winthrop to his son John Winthrop, Gov. of the Plantation at the mouth of the Connecticut. †

1636. 4 mo. 23.—"Mr. Fenwick, my brother Peter &c. set forth on horseback on the 27 of this month and will expect your shallop at the upper town to carry them down the river and so will join Mr. Peirce's pinnace to Long Island, Hudson's River, &c.," writes Winthrop to his son.

This journey was doubtless owing to the fact that Sir Harry Vane and Hugh Peter "were associated with Winthrop by the patentees of Connecticut, in the agency for the management of their estate. The three made proclamation of the rights of their principals and required a recognition of them on the part of the emigrants to that region." Peter being so well viewed by the Dutch took the journey to reconcile the disputes between them and the English. †

\* Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

† Winthrop's Journal.

† This journey of Hugh Peter's is undoubtedly the foundation of the statement made by several writers that Thomas Peter was in Connecticut in 1636. I can find no evidence of Thomas being in this country prior to 1645.

"In the year 1635, I, Lion Gardener, Engineer and Master of works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters with some other well-affected Englishmen of Rotterdam, I made an agreement with the forenamed Mr. Peters for £100 per annum, for four years, to serve the company of patentees, namely, the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks [Brook], Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington [Bonighton?], Sir Richard Saltingstone [Saltonstall], Esquire Fenwick, and the rest of their company, [I say] I was to serve them only in the drawing, ordering and making of a city, town, or forts of defence. . . . Mr Wintbrop, Mr Fenwick, and Mr Peters persuaded me that they would do their utmost endeavour to persuade the Bay-men to desist from war a year or two, till we could be better provided for it . . .

So they returned to Boston. But our great expectation [of having many laborers sent to him] at the River's mouth, came only to two men, viz. Mr Fenwick and his man, who came with Mr Hugh Peters, and Mr Oldham and Thomas Stanton, bringing with them some Otter-skin coats, and Beaver and skeins of wampum."\*—Pequot Warres, by Lion Gardener.

That they were not long gone is evident from the following:—"1636, Mo. 5, 6. Many ships lying ready at Natascott to sail Mr. Peter went down and preached aboard the Hector and the ships going forth met an east wind which put them in again; whereupon he staid and kept the sabbath with them.†"

Dec. 21, 1636. Having preached acceptably at Salem he is made pastor there, joining the church, Jan. 8, 1636, O. S. His name stands first in the records of admission to full communion, 8/11, 1636, the year ending March, 1637. He was their fourth minister, Higginson and Skelton having died and Roger Williams having been removed in November. The church at Saugus (Lynn) had wished to have him but he preferred Salem. This same year, 1636, he was granted 300 acres at Jeffreys Creek now

\* Mass. Hist. Coll., 3rd series, Vol. III, p. 136.

† Wintthrop's Journal.

Manchester. He, and Captain Endecott, each had two acres at the west end in Salem bordering upon Captain Trask and father Woodbury's lot.

"June 15th 1636. Laid out to Mr. Peters 150 acres of land by order from the selectmen bounded southerly by the land of the farm of Porter and land commonly called Joshua Rea's land easterly with ye land of William Raimonts to a bound tree at the northwest corner of ye said Raimont's land northerly with the land of Nathan and Jno. Putnam, westerly with a little river or brooke until it meets with Joshua Reas land bounds and then buttes upon his land until it comes to the bound tree yt belongs to farmer Porter and Josh Rae."\*

March 12, 1637. "Capt. Sedgwick, John Johnson, and Mr. Robt. Keayne are desired to speak with Mr Peters, and Mr Peirce about the Price of the coates and armes which the country had last summer."†

In 1637, Hugh Peter writes to John Winthrop: "Wee haue heard of a diuidence of women and children in the bay and would bee glad of a share viz: a young woman or girle and a boy if you thinke good [these were Pequot captives]. I wrote to you for some boys for Bermudas which I thinke is considerable. Besides wee are bold to impart our thoughts about the corne at Pequoit which wee wish were all cut down, or left to the Naragansicks rather than for vs to take it, for wee feare it will proue a snare thus to hunt after their goods whilst wee come forth pretending only the doing of justice, and wee beleene it would strike more terror into the Indians so to doe: It will quit cost to vs to keepe it."

"The 23d of this 7th mo 1637 Mr Hugh Peter deliuvred into the Court a deed of Mr Robert Saltonstall, makeing over all the estate that hee hath, or shall have, to satisfy his creditors."†

Nov. 20, 1637. "For the colledge, the Governour, Mr Winthrope, the Deputy, Mr Dudley, the Treasurer, Mr Bellingham, Mr Humfrey, Mr Harlakenden, Mr Staughton, Mr Cotton, Mr Wilson, Mr Dampart, Mr Wells, Mr Sheopard and Mr Peters, these, or the greater part of them, whereof Mr Winthrop, Mr Dudley, or Mr

\* Salem Town Records.

† Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

Bellingham to bee always one, to take order for a colledge at Newtowne." This was the founding of Harvard College, and May 2, 1638, "It is ordered that Newtowne shall hereafterward be called Cambridge."\*

Nov., 1637. "Mr Dunkaen and Increase Nowell were appointed to take Mr Peters his account between this and the next Courte."\*

Dec., 1637. Peters reproved Vane, then governor, because of his expressing dislike to a meeting of Cotton and the elders about differences of opinion; Peter adds "that the Ministers are saddened by his jealousy of their deliberations and his apparent inclination to restrain their liberty." The governor apologized.†

Mar. 12, 1638 . . . "this Court hath therefore ordered that the freemen of every towne (or some part thereof chosen by the rest) wthin this iurisdiction shall assemble together in their severall townes, and collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws as may bee sutable to the times and places whear God by his Pvidence hath cast us, & the heads of such lawes to deliver in writing to the Governor for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month called June, next, to the intent that the same Governor, together with the rest of the standing councell, & Mr Richard Bellingham Esq, Mr Bulkley, Mr Phillips, Mr. Peters, and Mr Sheopard . . . [and others] may vpon the survey of such heads of lawes, make a compendious abridgment of the same for the Generall Court."\* . . .

March 12, 1638. "Whereas there hath been divers complaints made concerning oppsion in wages, in prizes of comodities, in smiths worke, in excessive prizes for the worke of draughts and teames and the like, to the great dishonour of God, the scandoll of the gosple & the greife of divers of God's people . . . the Court . . . hath ordered it, that it shall bee onely considered by Mr Endecott, Mr Bellingham, Mr Harlakenden, Mr Staughton, Mr Peters, Mr Noise, [and twenty more] whom the Court hath desired in that perticoler & to bring into the next Generall Court their thoughts for the remedying of the same."\*

\* Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

† Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England.

In 1638, the town of Salem paid Mr. Peter for "weights, beame and scales."

About 1637 or 1638, Peter's first wife dies, probably in England, for in March 6, 1636-7, a letter says: "Mrs. Peters is yet in Holland and James Downinge with her, but we now daily expect them." Mrs. Peter, the gentlewoman to whom Peter refers in his "Last Legacy," was Mistress Reade, widow of Col. Edmund Reade, of Essex, England, and is said to have been the daughter of Thomas Cooke of Pebmarsh. She seems to have been Reade's second wife and was apparently much older than Peter. Her name was Elizabeth. Her husband died in or about 1624, and she soon after married Peter.

Colonel Reade's children were, as nearly as I have been able to discover:\*

1. Edmund, born 1595; died young.
2. William; died 1659.
3. Samuel.
4. Edmund, born 1604; died 1613.
5. Thomas, the youngest son, died Dec., 1677; he was a Colonel in the Parliamentary army and Governor of Stirling, and was associated with Monk at the Restoration.
6. Margaret, died, 1672, in Ipswich, Mass.; she married John Lake, presumably in England.
7. Martha, died, 1662, in Ipswich, Mass.; married (1st) Daniel Epps, in England; (2nd) Samuel Symonds.
8. Elizabeth, baptized November 27, 1614; married John Winthrop, jr., in England, in 1635, and their first child Elizabeth, is baptized in July, 1636.

John Winthrop's second wife, Elizabeth Reade, was the mother of all his children and came to this country with him. The elder Winthrop, after this marriage, always refers to his son's father-in-law as "my brother Peter." This was customary at the time as is evidenced by Cromwell's addressing Richard Mayor, — whose daughter married Richard Cromwell, — as "Dear brother" and "Loving brother."<sup>†</sup>

In April, 1638, we first hear of the person who was to be Peter's second wife: Upon the 12th day of the month Peter's church together with the others, "kept a solemn

\* They may not be arranged in the order of their birth, the dates being mostly unknown, but Elizabeth appears to be the youngest daughter.

<sup>†</sup> Cromwell's Correspondence.

fast-day for divine deliverance from the threatening evil of a general governor for the colonies and the consequent dissolution of their charter privileges and the loss of all their religious liberty." The next day Peter writes thus to Winthrop:

"To the noble Gouvernour in Boston;

Hon. Sir,—I much thanke you for yours, and together am sorry for the sickness of our frends. I am still troublesome to you. I haue sent Mrs D. Sh.\* letter which puts mee to new trouble, for though she takes liberty vpon my Cossen Downings speeches, yet (Good Sir) let mee not bee a foole in Israel. I had many good answers to yesterday's worke and amongst the rest her letter: which (if her owne) doth argue more wisdome than I thought shee had. You haue often sayd I could not leaue her; what to do is very considerable. Could I with comfort and credit desist, this seemes best; could I goe on, and content my selfe, that were good; my request is, that this bearer my hart's halfe may well observe what is best. For though I now seeme free agayne yet the depth I know not. Had shee come ouer with mee I thinke I had bin quieter. This shee may know, that I haue sought God earnestly, for the next weeke, I shall bee riper:

I doubt shee gaynes most by such writings; and shee deserues most where shee is further of. My very hart is with you and I am

Yours euer II: Peter

If you shall amongst you advise mee to write to hir I shall forthwith, our towne lookes vpon mee as contracted and so I haue sayd my selfe what wonder the change† would make I know not."

Extract from letter of Endecott to John Winthrop:—

April 13, 1638. "I cannot but acquaint yow with my thoughts concerning Mr Peter, since hee receaued a letter from Mrs Sheffield, which was yesterday in the eveninge after the fast; shee seeming in her letter to abate of her affeccions towards him, and dislikinge to come to Salem vpon such terms as hee had written. I finde that [s]hee begins now to play her parte, and if I mistake not, you will

\* Deliverance Sheffield.

† "Charge" was printed, but evidently a mistake.

see him as greatly in loue with her (if shee will but hold a little) as euer shee was with him; but hee conceals it what hee can as yett. The begininge of the next weeke you will heare further from him"\* . . . .

Later, Peter again writes to Winthrop:—"Sir . . . I know not well whither Mrs Sh. haue set mee at liberty or not; my conclusion is, that if you find I cannot make an honorable retreat then I shall desire to advance . . .

Once more for Mrs Sh. I had from Mr Hibbens and others, her fellow passengers, sad discouragement, where they saw her in her trim" . . .

Poor woman, probably very seasick, and sadly *out of trim*, but very likely no worse than her fellow passengers.

Emanuel Downing writes to Winthrop in 1638:—"My Cosen P. is constant to his dayly charge, soe that all his friends are resolved to leave him to his owne way, yet blessed be God his preaching is verie profitable and comfortable to all."

August or September, 1638, Francis Weston, an advocate of Williams, complains of Mr Peter of the Salem church, as not being allowed to ask questions in time of public worship. He also objects that the wife of Peter and others who came from Rotterdam after he did, had been received as members of his church at Salem though they brought no letters of recommendation.†

This approximately places Peter's marriage to Deliverance Sheffield, of whom we know only that she joined the church in Boston, March 10, 1639, and was dismissed to the church in Salem, Jan. 2, 1640.

Nov. 12, 1638. He had 230 acres of land granted him, in addition to 50 more at the head of Forest River, granted him the previous year, part of which bears his name to this very day.‡

Dec. 6, 1638. He was present at the execution in Boston, of Dorothy Talby, she being of his congregation in Salem. The unfortunate woman, suffering from religious mania, had murdered one of her children. This form of insanity was entirely misunderstood in those days.

\* Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, Vol. VII, p. 157.

† Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England.

‡ Felt's Memoir of Hugh Peters.





Salem 11.5.34.

(33)

Reminded and deeply beloved in the Lord we thought it  
our bounden duty to accompany you with the names of  
first yeomen as have had the great misfortune past upon  
them in this our church with the weapons thereof.  
Desiring you in the Lord not only to add their names  
in public to yours, but also to give in the like notice  
of any dealt with in like manner by us. That so we  
may walk towards them as neighbours; for some of  
whom have had communion apparently with such as  
have been cast out of other churches.  
2 Thes 3. 14 we can do nothing else than have just  
notice as desiring the church.

Benjamin Williams & his wife  
John Throckmorton & his wife  
Thomas Olney and his wife  
Isakely Westcott and his wife  
Mary Plattman  
W. Daw Kismet

(These wholly refused to  
leave the church.  
It and all the members  
in this town  
thanked them  
(two) and

John Alford for obstinacy after divers signs he  
stood guilty of, and proved by witness.  
William James for pride, and divers other evils,  
in which he remained obstinate.  
John Talby for much pride, and unreasonableness to  
his wife, was not lately presented for murdering his child.  
William Walcott for refusing to bring his child to the  
ordinance, neglecting his family-duties &c.  
Thus wishing the continued enmity of both these  
sinners (Blasphemy and Bonds) and that your faithful may  
flourish as watered gardens, &c.

Yours in the Lord  
p/suspense  
by the church  
and in kinship

REPRODUCTION OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY HUGH PETER.

From Massachusetts Archives. Vol. cxxl, page 33.

He was a witness, though a somewhat reluctant one, against Mrs Hutchinson, and took little part in that affair.

May 22, 1639. Mr Peter is desired to write to Holland for £500 worth of salt peter, and £40 worth of match.\*

June 6, 1639. He is granted five hundred acres of land by the Court.

June 19th. Granted to Mr Peters the Marsh lying over against his now dwelling containing about one and one-half acres or thereabouts on the other side of the water.

Peter writes to the church at Dorchester:†

"Salem-1-5-39. Reuerend and deerly beloued in the lord, wee thought it oure bounden duty to acquaynt you with the names of such persons as haue had the great censure past vpon them in this our church, with the reasons thereof; Beseeching you in the lord not only to reade their names in publicke to yours, but also to giue vs the like notice of any dealt with in like manner by you, that so wee may walke towards them accordingly; for some of vs here haue had communion ignorantly with such as haue bin cast out of other churches.

2 Thes: 3, 14. wee can do no lesse than haue such noted as disobey the truth.

Roger Williams and his wife, John Throckmorton and his wife, Thomas Olney and his wife, Stukeley Westcot and his wife, Mary Halliman and Widow Reeues. These wholly refused to heare the church, denying it and all the churches in the Bay to bee true Churches and (except two) are all rebaptized.

John Elford for obstinacy, after diuers syns hee stood guilty of, and proued by witness, William James for pride and diuers other evils, in which he remained obstinate.

John Talby for much pride, and unnaturalnes to his wife, who was lately executed for murdering her child.

William Walcot for refusing to bring his children to the ordinance, neglecting willingly family duties, &c.

Thus wishing the Continued enioyment of both the Staues (Beauty and Bands) and that your soules may florish as watered gardens, rest y<sup>rs</sup> in the lord Jesus,

Hu: Peter.

\* Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

† The original letter is in the Mass. Archives, Vol. CCXL, p. 33.

By the churches order and in her name. For the church in Dorchester."

June 6, 1639. Mr Endecott, Mr Downing and Mr Hawthorne are to dispose of the house which Mr Peters bought, as they can, and return the money for the college\* [Harvard].

June, 1639. He had an Indian servant, named Hope, who was whipped for running away and for drunkenness.

Sept. 4, 1639. Writing from Salem he speaks of "my wife," but we know not the date of his marriage. "My wife desires my daughter to send to Hanna that was her mayd, now at Charltowne, to know if shee would dwell with vs for truly wee are so destitute (having now but an Indian) that wee know not what to doe."† "My wife is very thankful for her apples and desires much the new fashioned shoes," he writes to Winthrop in 1639.

His health is seldom good. In 1636, he writes :—"but God's hand hath bin and is upon mee, more and more in the weakness of my body, which declynes dayly." And again in 1638 :—"My head is not well, nor any part at present for I cannot get sleepe."

3 mo. 3 day, 1638. Endecott writes from Salem, to Winthrop :—"and would however [have seen you] had not Mr. Peters' illness onely detayned mee for he hath bene very ill. But I hope the worst is past though hee be as sick in his thoughts as ever."

Hugh Peter's daughter Elizabeth, his only child, to whom he dedicated his "Last Legacy," was born in Salem, and was baptized there the first day of the eighth month, (Oct.) 1640. It must have been about the time of his daughter's birth that his wife first showed signs of mental disorder, and perhaps he refers to this in a letter dated 1640, when he says : "Deepe melancholy is getting fast vpon mee agayne and tethers mee at home." And again in the same year : "Am also at present fallen into a sore fit of my old hypochondriacal melancholy through cold and care."

He often refers to Ipswich in his letters, and frequently goes there, several of his step-children being settled in that town.

\* Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, Vol. vi.

The first discourse ever delivered within the limits of Wenham (first called Enon), was preached by him from a small hill now leveled, but long known as Peter's Pulpit, and his text was: "In Enon, near to Salem, because there was much water there." John, III. 23. In 1835, the town of Wenham voted to grant Hugh Peter's hill to the first church in Salem, upon condition of their erecting there a monument to him. The offer was to hold good for three years: it was not accepted and the land passed to an ice company.

Peter owned a farm of three or four hundred acres in Marblehead, near what is now Devereux.

In 1640, the Court requested the Churches of Salem, Roxbury and Boston to relinquish their pastors for the mission to England. The churches strenuously objected.

Impetus was given to ship building in 1640-41, by Hugh Peter and Richard Hollingsworth causing a ship to be begun in the February of that year. She was of 300 tons and was finished and launched in June. She was perhaps the Mary Ann of Salem, mentioned in 1643. The inhabitants of Boston forthwith built a ship of 150 tons.

"These are the ministers of the Bay. At Salem, Master Peter, Pastor, Master Norris, Teacher, and his sonne a School Master. Long Island is begun to be planted, a Church was gathered for that Island at Lynne, in the Bay. Master Peter of Salem was at the gathering. At Northem, *alias* Piscattaqua, is master Larkham Pastor, One master H. K.\* was also lately Minister there, with Master Larkham. They two fell out about baptizing of children, receiving of members, buriall of the dead, and the contention was so sharp, that Master K. and his party rose up, and excommunicated Master Larkham, and some that held with him: And further Master Larkham flying to the Magistrates, Master K. and a Captain† raised Armes and expected helpe from the Bay: Master K. going before the troop with a Bible upon a pole's top, and he, or some of his party giving forth, that their side were Scots, and the other English: Whereupon the Gentlemen of Sir Ferdinando Gorges plantation came in, and kept

\* Hansard Knollys.

† Underhill.

Court with the Magistrates of Piscataqua (who have also a Patent) being weake of themselves. And they fined all them that were in armes, for a Riot, by Indictment, Jury and Verdict, formally Nine of then were censured to be whipt, but that was spared. Master K. and the Captain their Leaders, were fined 100 l. apiece, which they were not able to pay. To this broyle came Master Peter of Salem and there gave his opinion at Northam, that the said excommunication was a nulity."\*

"And particularly, Master Peter went from Salem on foot to New Dover, *alias* Piscataqua, *alias* Northam, to appease the difference betweene Master Larkham and Master K. when they had been up in Armes this last Winter time. He went by the sending of the Governour, Counsell and Assistants of the Bay, and of the Church of Salem, and was in much danger of being lost returning, by losing his way in the woods, and some with him, but God be blessed they returned."†

"Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton with one of Acamenticus went [1641] from Pascataqua with Mr. John Ward [of Haverhill] who was to be entertained there for their minister; and though it be but 6 miles yet they lost their way and wandered 2 days and 1 night without food or fire in the snow and wet."‡

June 2, 1641. "The Court doth entreat leave of the church of Salem for Mr. Peters, of the church of Roxberry for Mr. Wells and of the church of Boston for Mr. Hibbens to go to England upon some weighty occations for the good of the country, as is conceived;"§ and this time the congregation sacrificing itself, permitted him to depart. He left, with Weld of Roxbury and Hibbens of Boston, as agents for the Colony, to attend to its interests in the mother country, and principally to plead for a decrease of the taxes.

"There being no ship which was to return right for England," they went to Newfoundland intending to take a passage from thence in the fishing fleet. They left Boston,

\* Plain Dealing or Newes from New England, by Thos. Lechford. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3rd series, Vol. III, p. 93.

† *Ibid.*, p. 106.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, II, p. 29.

§ Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

August 3rd, accompanied by John Winthrop the younger. They were 14 days to Newfoundland. Peter and Weld preached to the people there "who were much affected with the word taught, and entreated them with all courtesy."

He writes on July 27, 1641, "If the Lord continue my life, then I do hereby authorize them [Gott and Horn] to do all my affairs as if myself was present, as in looking into my house, to dispose of my ground, mill, and other things as in wisdom they shall see meet."

While on his way to England a commission was forwarded to him from Connecticut, signed by Haynes and Winthrop. "Whereas the bearer, Mr. Hugh Peters, minister of Salem, is sent at the public request to England to negotiate with the present parliament there about such matters as concern us, which we confide to his care and fidelity, this is to authorize him, if occasion permit him to go to the Netherlands, to treat with the West Indian Company there concerning a peaceable neighborhood between us and them of New Netherlands and whatever he shall further think proper touching the West Indies."

"1642, Mo. 6. Mr. Welde, Mr. Peter, and Mr. Hibbens who were sent last year into England, had procured 500£ which they sent over in linen, woollen, and other useful commodities for this country, which, because the stock might be preserved and returned this year for a further supply, were put off together for about eighty pounds profit, and the principal returned by Mr. Stoughton in the next ship."\* "My first work was with the first, to go for Ireland, which I did with many hazards; then I was at sea, with my old patron, the Earl of Warwick, to whom I owed my life," he writes.

From June to Sept., 1642, he was chaplain to the forces for the reduction of Ireland, in the expedition commanded by Alexander, Lord Forbes, and the same year he wrote an account of this expedition.

March 10, 1643. One of the ends of his mission was attained in the relief of New England from all duties on exports and imports to and from the mother country, which were for the home consumption of the colonists.

July 5, 1643. He attended Mr Chaloner (who was in

\* Winthrop's Journal, II, p. 75.

Waller's Plot) in prison and at his execution. Chaloner, advised by Peter, on the scaffold, explained the part he had taken in the plot, and then desired Mr Peter to pray with him. The same year he was sent by Parliament to Holland, to borrow money for the Protestant sufferers in Ireland and raised £30,000.

Jan. 4, 1644. He attends Sir John Hotham at his execution; and on the scaffold received public thanks from Sir John for his excellent instruction and assistance.

Mar. 12, 1644. In a speech of Archbishop Laud's, at the beginning of his trial, after speaking of the persons whom he had been the means of converting from Romanism, the Archbishop said: "Let any clergyman of England come forth and give a better account of his Zeal to the Church." Peter, who stood near him replied that however he was only an humble individual among many hundreds of ministers in the kingdom, he had been instrumental thro' divine aid, in bringing not only twenty-two from Papistry but one hundred and twenty, who witnessed a good profession, as true Protestants and sincere Christians. He added that others as well as himself, were able to produce hundreds of real converts to the Church, for each whom the Prelate could.\* He accompanied the Earl of Warwick, upon his expedition for the relief of Lyme, during May and June of 1644, and subsequently gave "a large Relation to the Commons of all the Business of Lyme where he was with the Earl of Warwick."

June 6, 1645. He is chaplain to the train, — "the regiments in charge of the baggage wagons and artillery".†

While Laud was in prison he charged Peter with conspiring to banish him to New England and begged that he might not be sent over-seas, pleading his age and infirmities. This had indeed been thought of, but as a means of saving him from death, and Peter's request therefore had been a motion made in Commons.

July 20, 1645. "On the Lord's day [at the siege of Bridgewater,] Mr. Peters in the forenoon preached a preparation sermon, to encourage the soldiers to go on; Mr Bowles likewise did in part in the afternoon. After

† Felt's Memoir of Hugh Peters.

‡ Gardener's Great Civil War, II, 297.



both sermons the drums beat, the army was drawn out into the field: the commanders of the forlorn hope, who were to begin the storm, and the soldiers, being drawn together in the field, were there also afresh exhorted to do their duties (with undaunted courage and resolution) by Mr. Peters, who did it (as one says of him) *tam Marte Quam Mercurio*.\*

In 1645, at the storming of Bridgewater, "Mr. Peters and Mr. Boles, in their sermons, encouraged the Soldiers to the work. About 7 at night the fort being drawn out, and these that Commanded the storm and forlorn, Mr. Peters, in the Field, gave them an Exhortation to do their duties."† "Mr. Peters who brought up the Letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax was called into the House, and made a large Relation of the particular passages in the taking of Bridgewater; he also produced several Commissions in Characters, which the House referred to a Committee, to be decyphered, and gave £100 to Mr. Peters for his unwearied services, and sent a letter of thanks to Sir Thomas Fairfax for all his great services and particularly for this of Bridgewater."‡

Aug. 29, 1645. Friday. A fast was kept through the army to seek God for a blessing upon the designs against Bristol: Mr Del and Mr Peters kept the day at the head quarters.\*

Aug., 1645. At this time, in compliance with Peter's former application to Parliament, he obtained the passage of an ordinance, enlarging that of 1643, which allowed all exports to New England to be free from duties without the previous restriction.

Sept. 9, 1645. "Mr. Peter was called into the House and gave them a particular Account of the Siege of Bristol, and the cause of sitting down before it to prevent the plunder and cruelties of Prince Rupert in that Country, and he pressed the desire of Sir. Thomas Fairfax to have Recruits sent to him."§

Sept., 1645. "Mr. Peters Preached in the Market Place at Torrington, and convinced many of their Errors in

\* *Anglia Rediviva; England's Recovery. The History of the Motions, Actions and Successes of the Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax*, by Joshua Sprigg, M. A. London, 1647.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, ed. 1732, p. 56.

‡ Whitelocke's Memorials, ed. 1732, p. 157.

§ Whitelocke's Memorials, ed. 1732, p. 171.

adhering to the King's Party, and that he, with Lieut. Col. Berry\* were sent to Plymouth to treat with the Governor."†

Oct. 1, 1645. "The Co<sup>r</sup>t thinketh it meete y<sup>t</sup> Mr Peet<sup>r</sup> and Mr Weld, being sent ov<sup>r</sup> as prsons fit to negotiate for y<sup>e</sup> country, haveing been long absent, desire they may und<sup>r</sup>stand the Co<sup>r</sup>t's mind y<sup>t</sup> they desire their p<sup>r</sup>sence here, and speedy returne."‡

It is probably about this time that he wrote the following letter :

"To my truly honourable and faithful General Sir Thomas Fairfax :

"Sir, one of the greatest comforts I have had in this world, next to the grace of God in Christ to my poor Soul, hath been to be a member of your Army, and a spectator of his presence with you and it, what others do, I know not ; but it is my duty to return to my work, and to meet you again ; which I am bold to do with this simple present. I know your mind, that must not, will not, be flattered ; nor am I skillful in that mystery : I have seen you upon earth, and doubt not to meet you triumphing in heaven. I only must crave leave to speak your own words, that your great experience of God's Power and mercy, have made strong obligation upon you to love Him and the saints, which I have seen you do impartially ; you have made it your interest, and now, you find you are not deceived, the God of all your unparalled mercy dwell in that thriving soul of yours, strengthen you throughout to the completing of this great work, yea, *Sereus in Coelum redeas, diuque Laetus intersis populo Britanno.*

"For myself (if it be worth your acceptance) I am resolved to live and die in your and the kingdom's Service, and as you have obliged three kingdoms to you and many thousands of saints, so none of them more to honour you than, Sir

Your ever faithful servant in Christ

Hugh Peters."§

\* Perhaps this is "Capt. Lieut." Berry who killed Gen. Cavendish.

† Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 194. Whitelocke gives this information Feb. 23, 1645 (O. S.), saying: "Letters from the Army certified that" . . . but it appears to me that this event took place in the previous September.

‡ Records of Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. II, p. 137.

§ Memorials of the Civil War, ed. by Rob. Bell (Fairfax Correspondence).

Oct. 7, 1645. "Letters brought by Mr. Peters from Lieutenant General Cromwell certified that, after he had entered Winchester Town, he summoned the Castle who denied, then he planted six Guns, and after firing them round sent a second Summons for a Treaty, which he refused: That he made a Breach with two hundred Shot, and then the Governor beat a Parley, which was agreed to, and Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison, for Cromwell, agreed upon Articles for Surrender of the Castle, which was well manned with six hundred eighty Horse and Foot, near two hundred Gentlemen Officers, and their Servants, victualled with fifteen thousand Weight of Cheese, store of Wheat and Beer, twenty Barrels of Powder, seven Pieces of Cannon. The Works exceeding strong, eight hundred Pounds of Butter, one hundred forty Quarters of Wheat and Meal, seven thousand Weight of Bisket, great store of other Provisions, Arms and Ammunition.

"The Messenger of the good news had fifty Pound given him. . . . Mr. Peters was called in, and made a particular Relation of the taking of Winchester Castle. Oct 7, 1645."\*

"Mr. Peters, also being requested to make a relation to the House of Commons, spake as follows: The reader will like to hear Mr. Peters for once, a man concerning whom he has heard so many falsehoods, and to see an old grim scene through his eyes. Mr. Peters related That he came into Basing House some time after the storm, on Tuesday, 14th of October 1645; 'and took a view first of the works which were many, the circumvallion being above a mile in compass. The Old House had stood (as it is reported) two or three hundred years, a nest of Idolatry; the New House surpassing that in beauty and stateliness; and either of them fit to make an emperor's court. The rooms before the storm (it seems), in both Houses, were all completely furnished; provisions for some years rather than months; 400 quarters of wheat; bacon divers rooms full, containing hundreds of fitches; cheese proportionable; with oatmeal, beef, pork; beer divers cellars-full and that very good.' Mr. Peters having taken a draught of the

\* Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 175.

same. 'A bed in one room, furnished, which cost £1,300 Popish books, many with copes, and such utensils. In truth, the House stood in its full pride; and the Enemy was persuaded that it would be the last piece of ground taken by the Parliament, because they had so often foiled our forces which had formerly appeared before it. In the several rooms and about the House, there were slain seventy-four, and only one woman, the daughter of Dr. Griffith, who by her railing, poor lady, 'provoked our soldiers (then in heat) into a farther passion. There lay dead upon the ground Major Cuffe; a man of great account amongst them, and a notorious Papist; slain by the hands of Major Harrison, that godly and gallant gentleman—all men know him—' and Robinson the Player, who a little before the storm was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament and our Army: eight or nine gentlewomen of rank, running forth together, were entertained by the common soldiers somewhat coarsely; yet not uncivilly, considering the action in hand.

"The plunder of the soldiers continued till Tuesday night, one soldier had a hundred-and-twenty pieces of gold for his share; others plate, and others jewels; among the rest one got three bags of silver which (he being not able to keep his own counsel) grew to be common pillage amongst the rest, and the fellow had but one half-crown left for himself at last. The soldiers sold the wheat to country-people; which they held up at good rates a while; but afterwards the market fell, and there were some abatements for haste. After that, they sold the household stuff, whereof there was good store, and the country loaded away many carts; and they continued a great while, fetching out all manner of household stuff, till they had fetched out all the stools, chairs and other lumber, all of which they sold to the country-people by piecemeal.

"In all these great buildings, there was not one bar left in all the windows (save only what were on fire), before night. And the last work of all was the lead; and by Wednesday morning they had hardly left one gutter about the House. And what the soldiers left the fire took hold on; which made more than ordinary haste; leaving

nothing but bare walls and chimneys in less than twenty hours ; being occasioned by the neglect of the Enemy in quenching a fire ball of ours at first.' What a scene ! 'We know not how to give a just account of the number of persons that were within. For we have not quite three hundred prisoners, and it may be have found a hundred slain, — whose bodies, some being covered with rubbish, came not at once to view. Only riding to the House on Tuesday night we heard divers crying in vaults for quarters, but our men could neither come to them, nor they to us. Amongst those that we saw slain, one of their officers lying on the ground, seeming so exceedingly tall, was measured ; and from his great toe to his crown was 9 feet in length' [*sic*].

"The Marquis\* being pressed by Mr. Peters arguing with him, urging him to yield before it came to storm, broke out and said : 'That if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House, he would adventure as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost ;' meaning with these Papists ; comforting himself in his disaster, 'that Basing House was called Loyalty.' But he was soon silenced in the question concerning the King and Parliament ; and could only hope 'That the King might have a day again.' And thus the Lord was pleased in a few hours to show us what mortal seed all earthly glory grows upon, and how just and righteous the ways of God are, who taketh sinners in their own snares, and lifteth up the hands of His despised people.

"This is now the twentieth garrison that hath been taken in this Summer, by this Army ; and I believe most of them the answers of the prayers and trophies of the faith, of some of God's servants.

"The Commander of this Brigade, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, 'had spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm, and seldom fights without some Text of Scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed word of God, written in the Hundred and fifteenth Psalm, eighth verse. 'They that make them are like unto them ; so is every one that trusteth in

\* The Marquis of Winchester.

them. Which, with some verses going before was now accomplished.'

"Mr. Peters presented the Marquis's own Colours, which he brought from Basing; the Motto of which was, *Donec Pax redeat terris*; the very same as King Charles gave upon his Coronation-money, when he came to the Crown. So Mr. Peters; and then withdrew, — getting by and by 200 l. a year settled on him."\*

Jan. 18, 1646. Sunday. At Dartmouth, Mr Del in the morning and Mr Peters in the evening, exhorted the soldiers to do their duty.†

"For the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, these :

May it please your Lordship, as soon as we were masters of the town, I sent a letter to your Lordship in the express to your house. The two forts are since surrendered, and Mr Peters this bearer, can relate all the particulars, it is one of the greatest businesses the General hath yet done, to God be the Glory, I take my leave, and remain

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

I. RUSHWORTH.

Dartmouth, January 20, 1645." (1646. N. S.)

Jan. 23, 1646. "Mr Peters came from the Army to the House, and made them a Narration of the storming and taking of Dartmouth, and of the valour, unity and affection of the Army, and presented several Letters, Papers and Crucifixes and other Popish things taken in the Town."‡

"Peter was chaplain in the campaign of 1645-46; Whenever a town was to be assaulted, it was his business to preach a preparatory sermon to the storming parties; at Bridgewater, Bristol and Dartmouth his eloquence was credited with a share in inspiring the soldiers. During the siege of Bristol he made converts of five thousand clubmen; when Fairfax's army entered Cornwall his dispatches specially mentioned the usefulness of Peter in persuading his countrymen to submission. . . . In addition to his duties as chaplain Peter exercised the

\* Whitelocke; ed. 1732, p. 218. Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell*.

† *Anglia Rediviva*.

‡ Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 199.

functions of a confidential agent of the general and of a war correspondent. Fairfax habitually employed him to represent to the parliament the condition of the army, the motives which determined his movements and the detail of his successes."\*

Feb. 28, 1646. Saturday. "His excellency had intelligence that salt ash was quitted by the enemy, and their works left undemolished; that the Governour of Mount Edgecombe was resolved to conclude upon a treaty negotiated by Master Peters:

"The conditions for the surrender of mount Edgecomb, a place of great strength and consideration, were this day presented to the General by Master Coriton, Master Tower, Master Glanville, and Master Trevisa, gentlemen of the country, who were glad of the opportunity to present themselves to the General for his favour; the propositions were ratified by his excellency and letters of recommendation were agreed unto, to be drawn and sent on their behalf to the parliament, their reasonable coming in was a good service and master Peters' industry; this negociation was great, and worthy all acceptation and acknowledgement."†

March 21, 1645 (1646, N. S.). "Mr Peters newly come from the Army, was called into the House and made them a particular relation of the proceedings of Sir Thomas Fairfax there, as is before mentioned, and that Hopton's Horse that were disbanded were near five thousand.

"That the Lord Hopton was not gone for Oxford, but took shipping for France, and many of the Commanders with him, and some before, and others went to their own houses, that Pendennis Castle was closely besieged and that the General intended to return towards Exeter.

"Order for an hundred pounds per annum to be settled on Mr. Peters, and his Heirs, out of the Earl of Worcesters Estate and fifty pounds to the Gentleman that brought the Letters from Sir. Thomas Fairfax."‡

April 3, 1646. Peter preached a sermon, "God's Doings and Man's Duty," before the Lord Mayor and

\* Dictionary of National Biography.

† *Anglia Rediviva*.

‡ Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 198.

Aldermen of the City of London and the Assembly of Divines; this sermon was one of Thanksgiving "for the recovery of the West and disbanding of five thousand of the King's Horse!" and was printed by R. Raworth for G. Calvert at the sign of the Black and Spread Eagle at the west end of Pauls. 1646.

The following extracts are made from this sermon:—

"Since you are still buzzed in the ear with a desperate increase of error, give me to leave this expedient by way of a query. The wound seems to be in the understanding, and the cure must be there (under favour) What if some convenient places in the city were set apart two or three times weekly, where Godly learned men, appointed by yourselves, and the leaders or heads of these errors, as they are termed, might have leave to come, and there in a brotherly way take and give satisfaction? For as conclaves have always been dangerous, so these poor erring men can not have the benefit to appear with boldness, and reasonable souls may sooner certainly be taught with reason and scripture than with cudgels and blows."

"I could wish some of my learned brethren's quarrelling hours were rather spent upon clearing the originals, and so conveying pure scripture to posterity, than in scratching others with their sharpened pens, and making cockpits of pulpits."

"Men and Brethren, whilst we are disputing here, they are perishing there and going to hell by droves. If I know anything, what you have gotten by the sword must be maintained by the word—I say the word, by which English Christians are made: in other countries discipline makes them so. Drive them into a church together and then dub them Christians; you will find too much of this abroad and hence it comes to pass that most of their religion lies in polemics, which is the trade we are likely to drive if God prevent not."

"What Mr. Peters further asked for was not stricter discipline, but more attractive preaching. Nor were men's bodies to be neglected. Why was not the Charterhouse employed in helping the widows and orphans of those who had been slain in the war? Why were there



so many beggars in the city? Why could not the Courts do justice more quickly? And as a means thereto, why could not the language of the law be English instead of French—that badge of conquest? There might even be two or three friend-makers set up in every parish without whose labour and leave none should implead another. Why were poor debtors to be kept in prison? Why should men's names be exposed to detraction?

"I know no publick person, but ought to carry a spare handkerchief to wipe off dirt; yet certainly blasting men's names in print, is not the way to clear a cause in dispute. Let us look to our duty and the Lord will care for our reproaches."

In a letter from Giles Firmin\* to John Winthrop, written from England in 1646, appears the following: "Mr. Peter hath done very much service since hither hee came. I could wish hee did not too much countenance the Opinjanists, which wee did so cast out in New England. I know he abhors them in hjs heart, but hee hath many hang vpon him, being a man of such vse. I hope God will preserve him spotlesse, notwithstanding vjle aspersions cast vpon him, but I perceiue jt is by the Presbyterjans, agaynst whom some tyme hee lets dropp a sharp word." "Colchester, 1st July."†

1646. "A plantation was this year begun at Pequod River by Mr. John Winthrop Junr., Mr. Thomas Peter, a minister, (brother to Mr. Peter of Salem) and this Court power was given to them two for ordering and governing the plantation till further order, &c."‡

In 1646, Cromwell commanded Peter to raise a regiment of foot for service in Ireland. This attempt was unsuccessful, but undoubtedly gave rise to the report that Peter was a colonel.

August, 1646. An ordinance sent up to the Lords for settling 200 pounds per annum upon Mr. Hugh Peter.§

October, 1646. Ordinance for settling 200 pounds per annum on Mr. Hugh Peters.||

\* A physician of Ipswich, Mass., and a man of repute and standing.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. VII, p. 277.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, II, 265.

§ Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 218.

|| Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 223. Evidently the same as the preceding.

In this year he published his "Last Report of the English Wars," in which he answered seven questions.

1. "Why he was silent at the surrender of Oxford."

He replied that the place was so near London and the occurrence so generally known there was no need of his giving it greater publicity. He also adds "You had nothing committed there by ours that had not its rise from integrity and faithfulness to the State."

2. "What he observed at Worcester, it being the last town in the Kings hands?" He speaks in high terms of the skill and bravery, exhibited there by Col. Whalley and other officers. He observes "I preached at Worcester at our coming in, and afterwards, did observe a door open to the Gospel. I am now satisfied with my many, many petitions, that I might live to see this day, this blessed day, and the last town of the enemies taken. I am thinking whether to go a few days more in this vale to admire what I have seen upon earth, and then die, that I may praise him, as he would be praised, who hath founded mercies for his servants, and brought forth deliverance to miracle, through Jesus Christ."

3. "What were best to do with the army?"

"The disbanding of an army if trusty ought not to be a work of haste. Never fewer complaints, nor many men of such quality, whose design is only to obey their masters, viz. the Parliament."

4. "If he had any expedient for the present difference?"

To nullify such want of harmony, the clergy should become reconciled, and general charity exercised: Presbyterians and Independents should be friendly and seek for the greatest public benefit. "Coals blown get heat and strength; neglected grow cold. I think we might do God more service in study and pulpits, than in waiting at great mens doors and working them up to their selfish interests."

5. "What his thoughts were in relation to foreign States?"

"That forthwith one might have some choice agents sent, as two to Sweden, two to the Cantons, our good friend, two to the Netherlands, and so to other parts, as we see cause, and these accompanied with a manifest of

God's gracious dealings with the State, letting them know we omitted this work in our misery, lest our friends might fear us for beggars, but now being upon an even foot with them, we let them know our condition, and how we are ready to own them against a common enemy."

6. "How these late mercies and conquests might be preserved and improved?"

By the same means the mercy is gained, it may be preserved even the encouragement of good men "Walk plainly in your counsels, God needs no man's lies to carry on his work. Let it be our care that after ages may not say we conquered ourselves into a new slavery. Justice will exalt and maintain a nation. I wish they might be first sharers in it, that first adventure their estates and lives. A State may stand upon any frame of government, if fastened together with Justice, charity and industry, the only upholders of the flourishing neighbor state the Netherlands." He proposed, that, for the promotion of morals and religion, as the chief source of a nation's prosperity, three or four missionaries might be employed in each County. He added "how ripe I have found Herefordshire and Worcestershire, for the Gospel and many other counties."

7. "Why his name appears in so many books not without blots and he never wipes them off?"

"I have been thinking to answer six or seven pamphlets, that name either enviously, or disgracefully, but yet remain doubting. The Lord rebuke Satan, This I must say, if either in Doctrine or practice I have failed, the time is not yet wherein any brother in any way of God hath dealt with me."\*

"I lived about six years near that famous scotchman Mr. John Forbes with whom I travelled into Germany and enjoyed him in much love and sweetness constantly, from whom I never had but encouragement though we differed in the way of our churches. Learned Amesius breathed his last breath in my bosom."†

\* This report was called in derision "Mr. Peter's politics."

† Forbes was a Presbyterian, Ames a Separatist. Extraordinary toleration for those days! He evidently refers to Ames, and uses the Latin termination the more to emphasize "learned Amesius breathed his last," etc. Learned Ames would not be impressive. See list of Hugh Peter's works, No. 16. He and Ames were warm friends; he was very kind to Ames' widow.

"Truly it wounds my soul, when I think Ireland would perish and England continue her misery through the disagreement of ten or twelve learned men. Could we but conquer each other's spirit, we should soon befool the Devil and his instruments; to which end I could wish we that are ministers might pray together, eat and drink together, because, if I mistake not, estrangement hath boiled us up to jealousy and hatred."

Speaking of his former church in Rotterdam he remarked "I thank the Lord it continues to this day." Alluding to his residence in Salem he said—"nor did I loose all my seven years being in New England, amongst these faithful learned, godly brethren whose way of worship, if we profess, it will not be groundless when their writings are examined. But to those printed scribblers against me, I may provide shortly a more satisfactory answer, where I may plainly charge untrue and unworthy passages upon the authors. Now the good Lord, who hath led captivity Captive for us, subdue us to himself, and grant that, in these tossing, troubling, foaming seas, we depart not from our principles of reason, honor, liberty, much less religion, which is the prayer of Hugh Peter."

How near Peter came to returning to the land he loved is shown by the following letters to the Winthrops:

Deale, 23 of June, 1645,— "desiring you to assure all the world that i am coming to you and haue sent my wife before for diuerse reasons,"

1646. "I am coming over if I must, my wife comes of necessity to New England hauing run herselfe out of breath here; you know all, the Lord teach mee what to doe."

Gravesend, 4 of 7ber. Be sure you never let my wife come away from thence without my leave & then you love me,"

16-9-1646. The elder Winthrop writes to his son at Fisher's Island near Pequod River: "Mrs. Peters went three days since to Salem;" fixing her arrival at least approximately, and about this time he writes again: "My sister Peter who is now as she used to be," indicating at least temporary amelioration in her mental condition.\*

Peter to Winthrop, May 5, 1647. "Deere Brother—

\* Letters to the Winthrops: Mass. Historical Collections.

my coming was resolved vpon by this ship, but the Lord hath put in two impediments, the one my want of health which is much impayred, and 2ly my land given by parliament is but even now turning into money. It is worth £211 per annum and I am putting it of. By the next ship I intend to come if God give me measure of strength. . . . I pray (Sir) haue an eye to my wife, if she will come hither I hynder not, but I thought she might bee better there. . . . Ah, sweet New England! & yet sweeter if dissensions bee not among you if you will giue any incouragement to those that are godly & shall differ, etc."

To John Winthrop the elder, May 5 1647. "For my selfe I intend New England shall share in my comforts and wish men tender in forsaking it, I am sure my spirit these 2 or 3 yeers hath bin restles about my stay here, and nothing vnder heauen but the especiall hand of the Lord could stay mee: I pray assure all the Country so, for I must write vnto your selfe now instead of many, being surprizd as I am hauing a full purpose to come in this ship really: my bookes you may tell the elders I shall bring with mee and it may be some thing else, but truly doe find things goe not well in my absence, and therefore would bee glad to see what I haue disposed of by myselfe: thus I Quaere

1. Why Mr Payne of Ipswich should haue 120 and od pounds from my goods when neuer more then £60 were here demaunded?

2. Why concluded without a word from mee or any on this side the water for mee?

3. Why my goods sold at halfe the value to pay him which they cost here?

4. Why my wife should dispose of anything of my goods without your order, or the deacons, etc.?

5. Why Rob. Saltonstall should trouble Shirt\* of the noate and others for 100l his father owed mee for bread for his family, and made mee be two years getting of my due, which his son it seems would haue payd back agayne, the attempt being monstrous thus to thinke to cheat his father's friends.

\* A Conveyancer.

6. Why I should pay so much money for the Country viz: £200 and neuer considered of & as Mr Pocock sadly complayns, and why Sherly should not haue his £110 own agreement, vizt, to relinquish the business of Plymouth?

These things I leaue to your wisdom." . . .

Upon the return of Thomas Peter to England, in 1647, he finds that "his brother was in Chester preaching," and in April he writes from London to Winthrop: "Sir, After a sad trauaile from Mallaga, but a fair one from thence hither, I haue met with a sad afflicted brother which is more greeuous to me than I wille expresse. He needs much of your prayers, and if all the sages of Greece were heere cannot yield him a contenting counsell."\* . .

May 17, 1647. Hugh Peter having given his share of a small barque to the town of Salem, the town received of Robert Codman £8-15-0 for profits which it had made.

June, 1647. "Mr Peters went to the King at Newmarket, and had much discourse with him."†

"Mr Peters likewise was at Newmarket, and had much discourse with his Majesty: His Majesty told Mr Peters, that he had often heard talk of him, but did not believe he had that Solidity in him he found by his Discourse, that he would have further Conference with him another time. Mr Peters moved His Majesty to hear him preach but His Majesty refused."‡

(Sat.) Sept. 18, 1647. "After a sermon in Putney Church the General, many great Officers, Field-Officers, inferior Officers and Adjutators, met in the Church; debated the Proposals of the Army towards a Settlement of this bleeding Nation; altered some things in them;—and were very full of the Sermon, which had been preached by Mr Peters."§

Nov. 11, 1647. "& Mr Pet's is to pay 50<sup>l</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> collidge."|| [Harvard College.]

"Wednesday, December 22, 1647, was, according to Appointment, kept as a Solemn *Fast* by the General and

\* Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, VII, p. 428.

† Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 254.

‡ Rushworth's Collections, VI, 578.

§ Rushworth's Collections, VII, 791.

|| Records of Mass. Bay Colony.

Officers ; the Duties of the Day were performed by divers of the Officers, amongst whom there was a sweet Harmony. The Lieutenant General, Commissary General Ireton, Col. Tichburne, Col. Hewson, Mr Peters and other officers, pray'd very fervently and pathetically : this continued from Nine in the Morning till Seven at Night."\*

June 26, 1648. Thomas Peter writes "My brother is now before Pembroke with Cromwell who expects to carry the castle shortly."

In the beginning of the same month June, 1648, Mr Peter went across to Milford Haven and from the Lion, a parliamentary ship riding there, got "two drakes, two demi-culverins and two whole culverins, and safely conveyed them to the Leaguer ; with which new implements an instantaneous array was made and a storming thereupon followed but without success."†

Sept. 7, "Peter with Messrs Marshall and Caryl was requested to perform religious service before the House the next day which was Fast."

1648. On the day of Pride's Purge, in the afternoon, Mr Peters arrived at the House and released Fiennes and Rudyerd, giving to those who inquired by what authority they had been detained the short answer : "By the power of the sword."‡

December 20, he was desired to officiate before the House on the Friday following in St. Margaret's Church.

January, 1648-9. "Upon a conference betwixt the King and Mr Hugh Peters, and the King desiring that one of his own chaplains might be permitted to come to him for his satisfaction in some scruples of conscience, Doctor Juxon Bishop of London was ordered to go to His Majesty."§

January 21, 1648-9. Peter preached before the High Court and on the 28th in St. James' Chapel : this was two days before the King's death.||

March 8, 1649. "Yesterday Mr Peters presenting Hamilton's Petition made many believe he would escape."

\* Rushworth's Collections, vii, 815.

† Carlyle's Cromwell, Vol. I, p. 648.

‡ Gardiner's Great Civil War, III, 539.

§ Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 370.

|| This was his celebrated sermon on the text "To blind their kings in chains and their nobles in fetters."

The Duke of Hamilton commanded the Scottish forces that marched into England and were defeated at Preston. A report was current in New England that Peter had taken the Duke prisoner with his own hand. Peter's petition was unsuccessful, and Hamilton was executed the next day. Before his death he "bade Peter adieu & embraced him."

March 20, 1649. Sir Henry Mildmay,\* Sir Jus. Hamilton and Mr Hillard to be a committee to receive what Mr Peters, or any whom he may bring with him, have for the benefit of the commonwealth, and to thank him for the same.

March 29, 1649. Mr Peter's proposition for building frigates was referred to the same committee [that is the Admiralty committee].

May 9, 1649. Twenty pounds to be payed to Col. Humphreys to enable him to go to Mr Peters with a physician.

May 9, 1649. Council of State to Hugh Peters:—"We are sorry of your sickness at Sandwich, and doubting whether you can have there physicians acquainted with your condition have desired Col. Humphreys to visit you and bring a physician to consult with Dr Gourdon and one shall be left fit to take care of your health; being very sensible of your faithful service, we would not be wanting in anything that might tend to your recovery."

In the summer of 1649, Peter is chaplain to the parliamentary forces sent against the rebels in Ireland.

September, 1649. A proclamation was made by the Parliament wherein was stated "that Mr Peters the Minister, was arrived at Dublin, and that at the beginning of the Troubles in Ireland he led a Brigade against the Rebels, and came off with honour and victory, and the like was now expected from him."†

From Dublin, Sept. 15, 1649, he writes to the Speaker of the House of Commons:

"Sir,—The Truth is, Drogheda is taken, 3552 of the Enemy slain and 64 of ours. Col. Castles, and C. Symonds of note. Ashton the Governour killed, none spared, we have all Tyron, and Dundalk, and are marching to

\* Member from Walden.

† Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 426.



Kilkenny. I come now from giving thanks in the great Church. We have all our Army well landed.

I am yours

Hugh Peter.”\*

The same year Peter writes to John Winthrop, jr: “ I pray you take speciall notice, with Mr Gott, of what I haue at Salem ; as also 100£ Mr Downing’s house is bound for, as also £20 Mr Endecott hovse with all my other matters. My intention is you and yours should bee the better for it, as I have signified formelly. Let Mr Gott take the income of all and bee accountable, my child hauing another portion.” . .

The same year he sends a loadstone to the younger Winthrop.

October 12, 1649. John Eliot writes to Hugh Peter : “ The Lord hath greatly delighted to improve you, and eminently your talent is increased to ten talents for our Lord and Master’s honour and use, and doubt not but your crowne shall be answerable. You are indeed much envyyed, evil spoken of, smitten with the tongue. No matter. Be not troubled at what men say, when they speak evill of you, seeing you cannot but see, yea, all men know it, God dealeth well by you, the Lord doth improve, accept, succeed you. I cannot wish you in New England so long as you are of such great use and service in the Old ; not because I love you not, but because I love you and the cause of God, which you do *totis viribus* pursue and prosper in. I have a request unto you in behalfe of these poor Indians. We are about to make a Town and bring them to a cohabitation and civility, for the accomplishment whereof we want a magazine of all sorts of edge tools and instruments of husbandry, for clothing, etc, That successful and reasonable magazine of Provisions, which you were a lively instrument to procure so seasonably at Bristoll, for the relief of the army at Pembroke, doth incourage and imbolden me to request this favour, that you would be pleased to use that wisdom and interest the Lord hath given you in the hearts of his people to further this magazine for the poore Indians.”†

\* Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 427.

† Felt’s Ecclesiastical History of New England, Vol. II, p. 15.

March 25, 1650. "From Milford Haven [came news] that the country thereabouts did unanimously take the Engagement; that Mr Peters opened the matter to them and did much to encourage them to take it."\*

Endecott writing to the younger Winthrop from Salem. Sept. 28, 1650, says: "Mr. Peters is Colnell of a foote regiment in Ireland."

Jan. 2, 1650-1. "Mr Peters [is appointed] to be Consul at and Alusia [Andalusia?] and have credentials to the King of Spain and instructions about the business of the fleet going southward and to attend the Council to-morrow."

From December to March, 1650-51, on his return from Ireland, he is very ill, and was attended for ten weeks by Dr. Young who testified against him at his trial.

Letter to the Missionary Corporation in England from Wm. Steele, dated April 17, 1651, refers to charges of mismanagement of funds by Peter and Welde. "As for Mr Peters and Mr Welde they haue sufficiently satisfied vs with what hath been formerly answered."

March 6, 1651. Mr Peter to be paid his quarterly allowance of £200 a year as it grows due.

November 6, 1651. A sermon to be preached in the chapel at Whitehall every Friday at 5 p. m. by Mr Peters, and notice here to be given to him, to begin on the 14th inst.

December 11, Mr Sterry, Mr Peters and Mr Caryl to be three ministers to preach before council in Whitehall Chapel, as they did last year, with the same allowance.

January 20, 1651. "Vote that Mr Hale, Mr Steel, Mr Cocke, Mr Manby, Mr Sadler, Colonel Blunt, Sir Henry Blunt, Mr Berners, Major General Desborough, Mr Moyer, Colonel Tomlinson, Mr Fountaine, Alderman Fowker, Mr H. Peters, Major Packer, Sir William Roberts, Mr Meltwold, Mr Mansell, Mr Rushworth, Mr Sparrow, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, be the Committee to take into Consideration what Inconueniences there are in the Law, how the Mischiefs which grow from delays, the chargeableness, and irregularities in the Proceedings of the Law may be prevented, and the speediest way to prevent the same.

\* The engagement of adhesion to the Parllament.—Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 447.

"And to present their Opinions to the Committee of Parliament appointed for that purpose, and they or any seven of them have power to send for any Person to confer with them in this business, and for Records."\*

Jan. 31, 1651. Whitelocke says, in this connection: "Mr Hugh Peters the minister who understood but little of the law was very opinionative, and would frequently mention some proceedings of law in Holland wherein he was altogether mistaken."†

1651. "Soe wee toucke the tyme to goe to visit Mr Petters at his chamber. I was mery with him and called him the ArchBP: of Canterberye, in regard of his attendance by ministers and gentelmen, & it passed very well; soe he calling the Maieur,‡ sonn Winthrop, I put him in mynd to remember his eldest sonn in New England, & that he would be pleased to giue yew his house at Salem, he said he cared not if he did. I desired he would write to yew by me to that purposse, he promised he would write by me, and I tould him I would call of him, though his lodging were aboue two myles from myne, & did so, but was gone to Greneage about a speshall accation, conserneing Mrs Jaine Puckering, a knight's daughter & haire, that was stolne & maryed by an vnworthy person, which mariage was disannulled.

"I sawe your sister, for shee was then in London, and Mr Petters tould his sonn§ that he must bring his wife to waite of him, for he did see gentelwomen did waite of him, Mrs Saltonstall, Mr Rich. Saltonstall wife, & other gentell women being there to speake with him, which wee accordingly did observe him ther in another daye, & would haue gone with vs to dyne at Sir Hen. Vaine, but he would not." . . .—William Coddington to John Winthrop, Jr.||

"About the same time Mr Peters, who still kept fair with those at Whitehall, made me a visit: and in our conversation about the publick affairs I freely told him my opinion concerning the actions of Cromwell, endeavouring to make him sensible not only of his injustice, but great

\* Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 520.

† Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 521.

‡ Major Stephen Winthrop, brother to John Winthrop, jr.

§ Probably Thomas or Samuel Reade.

|| Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, Vol. VII, p. 281.

imprudence, thus to sacrifice the commonwealth to his ambition, and by every step he had lately taken to strengthen the hands of the common enemy, whereby he would undoubtedly open a way for the return of the family of the late king, who would not fail to do all that revenge could inspire them with ; whereas if he had made use of his power to establish the just liberties of the nation, or could yet be persuaded so to do, he might live more honoured and esteemed, have the pleasure and satisfaction arising from so generous an action, when he died, and leave his own family, together with the whole body of the people, in a most happy and flourishing condition. He confessed that what I had said was most true, but added that there was not a man about him who had courage enough to tell him so ; that for his part he had observed him immediately after the victory at Worcester to be so elevated that he then began to fear what was since come to pass ; and that he told a friend with whom he then quartered in his return to London that he was inclined to believe Cromwell would endeavour to make himself king.”\*

In spite of the exciting and interesting condition of national affairs he longs for the land where he once dwelt : “ Oh that I euer left New-England ; or had neuer had this wife so sent to me ! Oh deare Sir ! My dayes are gone and I looke to my end apace,” he writes to the younger Winthrop in 1652.

At this time affairs were most prosperous with him and the condition of the country appearing to be settled he advises the younger Winthrop to come to England, instancing his brother, Major, or now Colonel, Winthrop’s advancement and other promising conditions.

March 2, 1652. “ Mr Peters to preach for Mr Caryl in Whitehall Chapel on Lord’s day afternoon until his return.”

20 2<sup>mo</sup> 1652 “ Mr. Peters is well at Whitehall.”—Roger Williams to J. Winthrop, jr.†

In 1653, Dutch ambassadors were sent to England (their fleet having been almost destroyed) to treat for peace. They apply to Peter and empower him to offer

\* Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, ed. 1771, p. 239.

† *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, Vol. VI, p. 286.

£300,000 for peace, but were unsuccessful. Again they applied to Cromwell who gave them their wish in 1654.

Peter, always very friendly toward Holland, was much disturbed by the war with that country and even wrote to Sir George Ayscough taking him to task for making war upon his co-religionists. Sir George made no answer, but handed the letter to the Parliament whereby Mr Peters was severely reprimanded and was, for some time, in disgrace.

That Peter's estimate of himself was a true one and that he was frequently lacking in judgment, is proved by several instances, but to a rather alarming extent in this case: A letter of intelligence from Holland, without signature and bearing the date of Sept. 26, 1653 (N. S.), is found among Thurloe's State Papers (Vol. I, p. 484) to this effect: "I cannot omit to certify you, that Mr Hugh Peters (whoe I believe is an honest man) doth correspond at Amsterdam with a woman called Mrs. Grace Crisp, concerninge state affairs which letters are communicated to Mr John Webster of . . . whoe is knowne a profest malignant . . . great mischief can be done to the commonwealth." . . .

From the same source (Vol. I, p. 583) and also testifying to his lack of judgment comes a letter from Jongestall to His Excellency Frederic Count of Nassau, Stadtholder and Captain general of Friesland — "Mr Peters hath writ a letter to the queen [of Sweden] by the lord Whitelocke, wherein he relates the reasons why they put their king to death, and dissolved this last parliament, and withal sends to her majesty a great English dog, and a cheese for a present."

Whitelocke, it seems, was much discomposed at being the bearer of these peculiar gifts, but the queen "merrily and with expressions of contentment received them," "though from so mean a hand."\*

In March, 1653-4, "Thirty-eight chosen men, the acknowledged flower of English Puritanism, were nominated by this ordinance [March 20th, same year], to form a Supreme Commission for the Trial of Public

\* Whitelocke: Journal of Embassy to Sweden.

Preachers. Any person pretending to hold a church-living, or lay tithes, or clergy dues in England has first to be tried and approved by these men. Of the thirty-eight, nine are laymen, our friend old Sir Francis Rouse at the head of them and twenty-nine are clergy. His Highness we find has not much inquired of what sect they are: has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists; has been careful only of one characteristic, — That they are men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them, Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men, were among these clerical Triers: the acknowledged Flower of Spiritual England at that time; and intent as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.”\* Peter was one of the thirty-eight triers.

He appears to have much trouble with his property in New England and repeatedly complains of its mismanagement. In 1654 he writes: “I wonder they would sell my house at Salem to Mr Endecot for 20£ whereas by my letter I gaue it you and all I had there, in trust for my daughter, if shee came ouer, and if not to you and yours, and that is my meaning, and pray you to looke to it, for Mr Endecot hath not payd me a penny, owing mee much more. . . . Here is 900 £ per annum for the Indians, I wish it were imployed for the English poore there.”

3. 1. 1654. He writes to “my good frend Mr. Gotte deacon at Salem now at Wenham. My deere Frend I had yours, and truly do loue you hartily, though I haue bin some tymes troubled at my busines having no returnes & you selling my house for 20£ and lending out my bookes & things and sending home nothing to mee, but only what Spencer sent a note of a colt and three sheepe etc. though I am no way angry with you, for I loue you hartily but great payments haue gone forth you write & truly I know no debts but such as Mr. Payne made vpon mee. My mynd is that Mr. John Winthrop

\* Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell*, Vol. II, p. 74.

might bee spoke with about what I haue to whom I assigned it long synce, vpon some conditions though : I profess no thing but want of health (I thinke) could detayne me from New England such is my loue to the place, & louely it will bee yet, I pray doe but for mee, as I would doe for you, Mr. Downing owd me 180£, nobody would seise the horse\* he made ouer to mee, and now hee is here with him to make hast after him.† Salute your good wife, pay your selfe for wat charge I put you to, & loue

Yours

Hu : Peter."‡

Roger Williams writes on the 12th of July, 1654, soon after returning from England, to John Winthrop of Connecticut : "I had no letter for you, but yours are all well. I was at the lodgings of Major Winthrop§ and Mr. Peters, but I missed them. Your brother flourishes in good esteem & is eminent for maintaining the freedom of the conscience as to matters of belief, religion & worship. Your father Peters preacheth the same dictum though not so zealously as some years since ; yet cries out against New England rigidities and persecutions, their civil injuries and wrongs to himself and their unchristian dealings with him in excommunicating his distracted wife. All this he told me in his lodgings at Whitehall, those lodgings which I was told were Canterbury's ; but he himself told me that the library wherein we were together, was Canterbury's, and given him by the Parliament. His wife lives from him, not wholly, but much distracted. He tells me he had but £200 a year and he allowed her fourscore per annum of it. Surely Sir, the most holy Lord is most wise in all the trials he exerciseth his people with. He told me that his affliction from his wife stirred him up to action abroad, & when success tempted him to pride, the bitterness in his bosom comforts was a cooler & a bridle to him."||

Even now Peter had more than this one affliction to embitter his life. Money is owed him in many quarters

\* This is horse in the text, but evidently a mistake as other reference is made to Mr. Downing's *house* in this connection.

† The exuberant use of pronouns without subjects, by the old worthies, is a great trial to the modern compiler.

‡ Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, Vol. I, p. 179.

§ Son of the governor and brother of John Winthrop, jr.

|| Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, Vol. x.

which he cannot collect, and his estate in New England is greatly mismanaged. He appears to have lent money to many persons and to have been in debt to John Winthrop, jr., some hundreds of pounds in consequence, whence came a lessening of their early intimacy and affection and the Governor of Connecticut, who was formerly addressed as "My Deere Hart," and "take notice I loue you as myne owne soule" in 1649, is now only :

Whitehall, 10-4-54.

"My worthy Frend. I heerd from you and your wife also the last yeere, and if I delighted in writing long you would have some, but you know I doe not, and the many vnkindneses I had from New England hath much deadend me in these things, rather contenting myselfe with what I can doe here, then further to be troublesome to them : They owe me much money which I would freely give to your wife and children if they would pay it . . . For your wife's demand of 100£ I shall not be idle therein. My charge is here so great & my experience\* that I can doe little for my friends, being oppresed with myne own & my brothers and sisters necessity, yet I have sent you a small token . . . Mr. Got writes of the sale of my house; Mr. Downing is not honest, owes me 100 £ for which his house is bound to mee. These are not good dealings. Mr. Endicott owes me money, pays none. I payd 20 £ in gold to Mr. Saltonstall also for him, but hardly acknowledged and that also I wish you had." . . .

Nov. 9, 1654. A letter from the Council of Massachusetts is directed to "the Reverend and much honored Mr. Hugh Peter." They apologize for their silence & then, "yet such is our confidence of your zeal for God, your real and cordial affection to the cause of God and the liberties and welfare of his people here, that we are encouraged; our necessities at this time also compelling us to make use of all our friends, amongst whom we cannot but rank yourself among the chief, and are confident you will not suffer us to be mistaken therein but that in due time we shall see Amicus return."†

\* Expense?

† Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England, Vol. II, p. 112.



Feb. 23, 1654. Joseph Caryl, Hugh Peters, Peter Sterry, ministers one-fourth years salary, £50 each.

Jan. 31, 1655. Peter received £150 for three-fourths years salary at Whitehall.

Dec. 21, 1655. He received £100 for a half-years salary at Whitehall.

On the opening of the New House at the second Parliament, January 25, 1657-8. "Mr. Peter's moving exercise" is mentioned.

The latter part of his life was embittered by every variety of vile accusation, the least of which was his reputed theft of the crown jewels, — and to which he refers in a letter: "Were I not a Christian, I am a Gentleman by birth, & from that extract do scorn to engage in the vile things suggested."

William Hooke, writing to John Winthrop, Jr., April 13, 1657, says: "Mr Peters is not yet thoroughly recovered out of his late eclipse, but I hear better of his preaching than was formerly spoken of it."\*

His ill health gave him much uneasiness and at times he expressed a fear that "he would outlive his parts," but the Rev. William Hooke writing to the younger Winthrop at this time, says: "Mr Peters is in good health."†

January 25, 1657. Peter preached a sermon before the House, in which he said "religion was left by our ancestors (as, for instance, Smithfield and latter times), hot, fiery hot; but it was now fallen into luke-warm hands: We do not boil up our religion to the height; Other nations are seeking for a general peace, whilst we, for want of an enemy, are scratching one another; They say they will come over and choose their religion when we have agreed of a religion: and when we use our God better they will serve him."‡

Mr. Peters was intrusted with the care of the library at St. James' and the following advertisement appeared in this connection: "Feb. 1, 1658. Tuesday, Workmen being employed for repairs of the house of St. James's, and some part of the leads over the library there being

\* Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, Vol. I, p. 183.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, Vol. VII, p. 587.

‡ Burton's Diary, Vol. II, p. 346.

to be amended, some idle Persons and youths took an opportunity to get into the library, where they found a good store of medals, some of gold, others of silver, the rest of brass; which, for their rarity and antiquity, had formerly been collected and were still preserved there. This they took to be treasure, and seized it as prize, divers of them filling their pockets; some of which were apprehended before they could get away, and are since committed to the Gate-house, by which means, many of the medals are recovered, and more it is hoped will be. But many are like to be lost, unless such persons as by accident shall have a view, be pleased to discover them, These are, therefore, to desire all goldsmiths, and other persons whatsoever, that in case such things shall be offered to them, they would take care to apprehend the parties and give notice thereof to Mr. Hugh Peters at Whitehall.\*

The following letter from Colonel Lockhart to Secretary Thurloe, appears in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. vii., p. 249.

"From Dunkirk, July 8-18, 1658.

May it please your Lordship,

I could not suffer our worthy Friend, Mr. Peters, to come away from Dunkirk without a Testimony of the great Benefits we have all received from him in this Place, where he hath laid himself forth in great Charity and Goodness in Sermons, Prayers, and Exhortations, in visiting and relieving the Sick and wounded; and in all these, profitably applying the singular Talent God hath bestowed upon him to the chief Ends proper for our Auditory; For he hath not only showed the Soldiers their Duty to God, and pressed it Home upon them, I hope to good advantage, but hath likewise acquainted them with their Obligations of Obedience to his Highness's Government, and Affection to his Person. He hath laboured amongst us here with much Goodwill, and seems to enlarge his Heart towards us, and Care of us for many other Things, the Effects whereof I design to leave upon that Providence which has brought us hither. It were

\* Burton's Diary, Vol. IV, p. 452.

superfluous to tell your Lordship the Story of our present condition, either as to the Civil Government, Works or Soldiery. He who hath studied all these more than any I know here can certainly give the best Account of them. Wherefore I commit the whole to his Information, and beg your Lordship's casting a favourable Eye upon such Propositions as he will offer your Lordship for the Good of the Garrison. I am, May it please your Lordship,  
Your most humble, faithful and obedient Servant,  
Will. Lockhart."

The following is written in Lockhart's own hand :

"My Lord

Mr Peters hath taken leave at least three or four times, but still something falls out, which hinders his Return to England. He hath been twice at Bergh, and hath spoke with the Cardinal\* three or four times ; I kept myself by, and had a care that he did not importune him with too long Speeches.

He returns, loaden with an Account of all Things here, and hath undertaken every Man's Business. I must give him that Testimony, that he gave us three or four very honest Sermons : and if it were possible to get him to mind Preaching, and to forbear the troubling himself with other Things, he would certainly prove a very fit Minister for Soldiers. I hope he cometh well satisfied from this Place. He hath often insinuated to me his Desire to stay here, if he had a Call. Some of the Officers also have been with me to that Purpose ; but I have shifted him so handsomely, as, I hope, he will not be displeased : For I have told him, that the greatest Service he can do us is to go to England, and carry on his Propositions, and to own us in all our other Interest, which he hath undertaken with much zeal."

The first letter is evidently an open one ; the latter is as evidently private ; it is sufficiently humorous and gives one a good deal of insight into Peter's character.

July, 1658. Mr Hugh Peters related in the House the passages of Mardike and Dunkirk, where he preached to the Soldiers.†

\* Mazarin.

† Whitelocke, ed. 1732, p. 674.

Oct. 12, 1658. The Assembly of Savoy in London begin their session. Peter is a member.

At the death of Cromwell he preached a funeral sermon upon the text : " My servant Moses is dead."

Sept. 7, 1658. He was one of those appointed to have mourning for the late Protector. . . . and in the funeral procession, among the chaplains of Whitehall walked "Mr Peters."\*

Jan. 28, 1658-59. In the House "Mr. Peters prayed, standing," the last reference we have to his officiating in the House.†

"During the troubled period that followed [after Cromwell's death], he took little part in public affairs, probably owing to ill-health. He deplored the overthrow of Richard Cromwell, protested that he was a stranger to it, and declared that he looked upon the whole business as 'very sinful and ruinous.' When Monk marched into England, Peters met him at St. Albans, and preached before him to the great disgust of the general's orthodox chaplain John Price." (Masere's Select Tracts, 11-756.) On the 24 of April in answer to some inquiries from Monk, he wrote to him saying, " My weak head and crazy carcass puts me in mind of my great change, and therefore thank God that these twelve months, ever since the breach of Richard's parliament, I have meddled with no public affairs more than the thoughts of mine own and others presented to yourself. (Manuscript of Mr Leybourne Popham).‡

January 11, 1659-60, he was deprived of his lodgings at Whitehall.

January 29. He was appointed by the Parliament to preach before General Monk, when the latter was on his march from Scotland to London, a fast day sermon at St. Albans; when it was said "he troubled the General with a long first sermon and at night too he supererogated and prayed a long prayer in the General's quarters."

In May, the Council of State ordered his apprehension. Pamphlets, ballads and cartoons appeared against him in profusion; never was a man so unpopular.

\* Burton's Diary, p. 524.

† Burton's Diary, Vol. iii. p. 11.

‡ Dictionary of National Biography.

A letter of Roger Williams to Winthrop of Connecticut, dated February 6, 1659-60, gives premature rumour of Peter's death: "Sir, you were not long since the son of two noble fathers, Mr John Winthrop and Mr Hugh Peters. It is said they are both extinguished. Surely, I did ever from my Soul, honour and love them even when their judgments led them to afflict me."\*

A Letter from W—W— to William Goffe in 1660, has the following :

"May the 19th. The Covert was Burned in severall places of England, and carried in a disgraceful manner (fixt to Horse Tailcs) through the streets, with the effigies of the Protector, Hugh Peters, and others whom they had a mind to vilifie"†

June 7, 1660. Peter and Cornet Joyce were ordered to be arrested. Mark the coupling of their names, and it is clear in what estimation he was then held.

July 18. He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, although he was neither one of the seventy Commissioners who tried the King nor one of the fifty-nine who signed the death warrant.‡

From this time until his arrest he was in hiding. "Peters, who had hidden himself to escape apprehension, drew up a policy for his life, which he contrived to get presented to the House of Lords. It denies that he took any share in concerting the king's death and gives an account of his public career substantially agreeing with the defence made at his trial and the statements contained in his Last Legacy."§

A letter from Andrew Newport to Sir Richard Leveson states that "Hugh Peter was taken in Kent Street on Sunday last," that Sunday being the 31st of August, 1660. He was at once committed to the Tower. A jingle of the times refers to him thus :

\* Life of Roger Williams. John Knowles.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 166.

‡ "Col. Hacker, who was one of those to whom the warrant of the high court of justice, for the execution of the king, had been directed, together with Mr. Hugh Peters, and the two persons who were to mask upon the scaffold when he was beheaded, were excepted by the lords both for life and estate." Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 394.

§ Historical MSS. Commission, 7th Report, p. 115; Dictionary of National Biography.

"Sing hay ho, my honey, my heart shall never rue;  
Twenty-four traytors now for a penny  
And into the bargain Hugh."\*

The Rev. John Davenport writes to John Winthrop, jr., from Newhaven, October 17, 1660: "Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nie,† and Mr. Peters are in prison and likely to lose their lives."

After the King's restoration, Mr. Peters being apprehended and committed to prison, his Majesty sent a warrant to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, to obtain information of his royal Father's library; when Mr. Peters testified under oath that "In the year 1648, he preserved the library in St James's against the violence and rapine of the soldiers, that the same continued three or four months in his custody; that he did not take anything away, but left it unviolated as he found it; and that he delivered up the key and custody of all to Major General Ireton."

Ludlow,‡ who knew Peter personally, speaks of him as follows in his *Memoirs* (ed. 1771, page 406):

"This person had been minister in England for many years, till he was forced to leave his native country by the persecution set on foot in the time of Laud, against all those who refused to comply with the innovations and superstitions which were then introduced into the publick worship. He went first into Holland, and from thence to New England; where after some stay, being informed that the parliament had relieved the people in some measure from the abuses in church and state, and designed to perfect that work, he returned to England; and in all places, and all occasions, encouraged the people to appeal vigorously for them. Having passed some time in England he was made chaplain to a brigade that was sent against the Irish rebels and observing the condition of the plundered protestants in that country to deserve compassion, he went into Holland, and improved the interest he had there with so good success, that he procured about

\* *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, II, p. 471.

† Philip Nye, an Independent minister and member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

‡ One of the regicides.

thirty thousand pounds to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief. He was a diligent and earnest solicitor for the distressed protestants of the valleys of Piedmont, who had been most inhumanely persecuted and reduced to the uttermost extremities by the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy; and in gratitude to the Hollanders for the sanctuary he had found among them in the time of his distress, he was not a little serviceable to them in composing their differences with England in the time of Cromwell."

"The 10th of October,\* Sir John Robinson, Knight, Lieutenant of his Majesty's Tower of London, according to his Warrant receiv'd, delivered to Mr Sheriff the Prisoners hereafter named who were (in several coaches) with a strong Guard of Horse and Foot conveyed to Newgate, and about Nine of the Clock in the Morning delivered to the Keepers of that Prison, and thence brought to the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, London, where the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were in Court assembled and where their Indictment was publicly read by Edward Shelton Esq. Clerk of the Crown.† . . .

\* This account of the trial is taken from Corbett's Complete Collection of State Trials. London, 1792.

† "September 10. At night comes Mr Moor, and tells me how Sir Hardress Waller (who only pleads guilty), Scott, Coke, Peters, Harrison, &c., were this day arraigned at the bar of the Sessions House, there being upon the bench the Lord Mayor, General Monk, my Lord of Sandwich, &c., such a bench of noblemen as had not been seen in England. They all seem to be dismayed, and will all be condemned without question. . . . To-morrow they are to plead what they have to say." . . . Pepys' Diary, p. 55. London, 1825.

"Points resolved at the meeting preparatory to the Trials of the Murderers of the late King :

4 . . . it was agreed that the actual Murder of the King should be precisely laid in the Indictment, with the special Circumstances as it was done, and should be made use of as one of the Overt-Acts, to prove the compassing of his Death.

6 . . . it was resolved that there need not be two Witnesses to prove every Overt Act tending to the compassing of the King's Death, but one Witness to prove one Overt-Act tending to the Compassing of the King's Death, and another Witness to prove another Act tending to the same end are sufficient."\*

The Indictment was found at Hick's Hall, and there the proceedings began on Tuesday, the 9th of October, 1660.

Hugh Peter was No. 10 on the bill of Indictment among the thirty-two that were arraigned for high-treason : only ten of the thirty-two were executed.

*Clerk:* Hugh Peters, Hold up thy Hand. How sayest thou? Art thou Guilty of the Treason whereof thou standest Indicted, and for which thou art now Arraigned? or not Guilty?

*Hugh Peters:* I would not for Ten Thousand Worlds say I am Guilty. I am not Guilty.

*Clerk:* How will you be tried?

*Hugh Peters:* By the Word of God. (Here the People laughed.)

*Court:* You must say, By God and the Country ; Tell him you that stand by him, what he should say, if he doth not know.

*Clerk:* How will you be tried?

*Hugh Peters:* By God and the Country.

*Clerk:* God send thee a good Deliverance.

Sessions House, Old Bailey, Oct. 13, 1660.

*Clerk of the Crown:* Set Hugh Peter to the Bar (which was done accordingly).

*Clerk:* Hugh Peters, Hold up thy Hand ; thou standest Indicted, &c. If you will challenge any of the Jury you

\* Any one might be proved a traitor under such a sweeping decision, which included not only acts but words as well, and made the latter as weighty as the former.



must challenge them when they come to the Book, before they are sworn.

*Lord Chief Baron* :\* Mr. Peters, you may challenge to the number of thirty-five peremptorily, but beyond that you cannot, without good Cause shown ; and that you may have Pen, Ink and Paper.

*Peters* : My Lord, I shall challenge none.

*Sir Edward Turner*, † to the Jury : you have often heard repeated to you that the Substantial Part of the Charge is the Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King, and all the rest will be but Evidence to prove that Imagination against the Prisoner at the Bar, whom we will prove to be a Principal Actor in this sad Tragedy, and next to him ‡ whom God hath taken away and reserved to his own Judgement ; and we shall endeavor to prove that he was a Chief Conspirator with *Cromwell* at several Times, and in several Places : and that it was designed by them ; We shall prove that he was the Principal Person to procure the Soldiery to cry out, Justice, Justice, or assist or desire those for the taking away the Life of the King. He did make use of his Profession, wherein he should have been the Minister of Peace, to Make himself a Trumpeter of War, of Treason and Sedition, in the Kingdom : He preached many Sermons to the Soldiery in direct Terms for taking away the King, Comparing the King to *Barabbas* : He was instrumental when the Proclamation for the High Court of Justice (as they called it) was proclaimed, directing where it should be proclaimed and in what place. When the King was brought upon the Stage, that Mock Work, he was the Person that stirred up the Soldiery below to cry for Justice ; we should shew you as he preached at several Times upon several Occasions, still he was in the Pulpit to promote this Business ; the next day after he was brought to Trial he commends it ; you shall hear all out of the Mouth of the Prisoner ; therefore I say no more ; call the Witnesses.

*Peters* : May it please your Lordships, I will give you

\* Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

† Attorney to His Highness, the Duke of York.

‡ Cromwell.

an Account of the Business : I lived 14 years out of England, when I came over I found the Wars begun ; I began no War, my Lord, nor have been the Trumpeter of any when I came out of the West Indies, I fled from the War into Ireland, to the Western Part there ; and it was after the Rebellion, when some of the Irish had been stirring there, I went and spent my time there. I was neither at Edgehill nor Naseby ; but my Lord ; after I came over there was War that the People were engaged in ; I was not here in the Beginning of it, but was a Stranger to the Carriage of it.

When I came into the Nation I looked after Three Things : One was that there might be Sound Religion ; the Second was that Learning and Laws might be maintained ; the Third, that the Poor might be cared for ; and I must Confess I have spent most of my Time in these Things to this End and Purpose : There was a Noise in all Parts of some Miscarriages in Matters of Religion, after it was settled I lived in Ireland, I must profess for my own part, solemnly, that my Carriage hath been upon these Heads, For Religion, I have, through God's Mercies, spake of the Truths of the Protestant Church, upon this Account I did stay to see what God might do.

I was sent over to his Majesty that we might have a little Help in point of Excise and Customs, and Encouragement in Learning. My Lord, this is true, that I being here in the Nation and being, sent over upon the Occasions of the Country, and not upon any Design ; but this I say (I cannot deny it), that after I came over and had seen the State of England, in some Measure I did stir, but by strong Importunities, the Ministers of London deeper than I : I am very sorry to hear of my Carriage towards the King ; it is my great Trouble ; I beg pardon for my own Folly and Weakness ; I thought God had a great Controversy with the Nation, and the Lord was displeased on all Hands ; that which some People took to I did take unto ; I went into the Army ; I saw at the Beginning of it that Corruptions grew among them. I suppose none can say I have gone aside from any Orthodox Truth of the Lord ; And now to take off the Scandal, upon me, and to the Business, let me beg of your Lordships to

consider what ever Prejudice or Revenge may take up Mens Hearts, there is a God that knows all ; God hath a regard to the People of England ; I look upon this Nation as the Cabinet of the World, That that doth concern the Business is, this, my Lord, that after this Time hither I came, and did bear Witness to all the World, that there was amongst us something that was for better and something worse, for the Nation ; I took Advice of some great Persons concerning the Weightiness of it ; I had neither Malice nor Mischief in my Heart against the King ; upon this I did engage so far being Invited ; I went into the Wars, and there I found very strange and several Kinds of Providences, as this Day hath been seen ; I do not deny but that I was Active, but not to stir in a way that was not Honourable. I challenge a great Part of the Nation to manifest my Carriage among them : I shall make it good divers ways ; I had so much Respect to his Majesty, particularly at Windsor, that I propounded to his Majesty my Thoughts Three ways to preserve himself from Danger, which were good, as he was pleased to think, though they did not succeed, and the Work died ; as for Malice, I had none in me. It is true, there was a Difference amongst us, an Army, and an Army, I never had a Groat or a Penny from Oliver Cromwell since I knew this Place ; I profess I have had no Ends for Honour or Gain since I set Foot upon this Shore ; I challenge any Man that belonged to that Party whether they had not the same Respect from me as my own Party ; I have not persecuted any with Malice : I will only take off Malice.

*Lord Chief Baron :* Your Business is Matter of Fact.

*Peters :* I am unskilful in Law, this that I offer is to shew that I had no Malice in me ; I was so far from Malice, that I have a Certificate, if worth the reading, from one of the Emminentest Persons in the Nation, to shew I had no Malice : It is concerning the Marquis of Worcester, under his Lady's Hand, beginning with these Words, " I do here testify that in all the Sufferings of my Husband, Mr Peters was my great Friend, &c." I have here a Seal (and then produced it) that the Earl of Norwich gave me to keep for his Sake for saving his Life, which I will keep as long as I live.

*Lord Chief Baron :* I am not willing at all to interrupt you, or hinder you ; that which you speak of doing good Services, is not at all to the Point ; we do not question you for what good you have done but for the Evil you have done ; I hope there is no Malice in your Heart, nor upon the Court or Jury, we and they are upon our Oaths, and you hear the Matter alleged against you ; pray come to the Matter.

*Peters :* My Lord, I cannot remember them.

*Lord Chief Baron :* Then I will remember you : You are charged by this Indictment for Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King, and there is set forth sundry Particulars to prove the Overt Act, that you with other Persons named in that Indictment, did consult and meet together, how to bring about the King's Death. Then you are charged with several Acts of Contriving and Endeavouring the King's death. Overt Acts that tend to the Compassing and Imagining the King's death, or any one of these, to encourage the bringing on the King to his Death, the consulting or meeting together about it, though you did not sit or sentence ; yet if you did any Thing tending to that Encouragement, or otherwise Abet it, Comfort or anywise Aid those Traitorous Persons that did it, in the doing of it you are by Law Guilty of the whole Fact : The proposing and determining, the King shall die, though you were not he that actually put him to Death, yet notwithstanding, if you did the other, you are Guilty of all, if you shall speak any Seditious Speeches, be they in the Pulpit, or out of the Pulpit, if you shall utter any Thing that tends to Sedition, these are open Acts, which prove the Imagination of the Heart ; though Imagination of the Heart be Treason yet it cannot be proved but by open Acts, yet the Imagination itself is Treason.

First you did conspire, all the Witnesses go along to prove this. Dr. Young saith, you came over from Ireland to his House, and after Five Days that you were recovered of the Flux you staid there Ten Weeks ; you said yourself there was enough, if it were true, to condemn you or any Man : I shall repeat it to you : you told him a Narrative, that you came from New England, from thence to Ireland and then you came to Holland, with an Intent to see how

you might bring on the Kingdom to be a Commonwealth. Next he saith, you spake very often against the King by way of Disgrace, against him and his Family, against the King and his Offspring, this you said very often : Then you spake in Vilification of Monarchal Government, that this Commonwealth, would never be at peace till 150, or Three L's, Lords, Levites and Lawyers were taken away, at which he replied, then they must be all Switzers, Tinkers or Traitors : He swears you were a Colonel, and had a Commission ; that you would have had him accept of a Commission ; and that you had two Companies come from the West : you told him the Parliament had an Intent to secure Cromwell and yourself, but that you rid hard for it ; and then you confessed you agreed then upon his Death, to bring him to Trial, and to cut off his Head ; you did agree together, and he believes it was your Advice to Cromwell ; your Answer was this, that he was more violent than yourself ; that he took upon him to be a Spy ; and that he was no competent Witness, because he was under a Temptation, because you did not help him to his Living, and so conceived it to be Malice ; you say he was used to take up such Courses in his own Country ; the Matter is not whether you had Malice to the King's Life or Monarchy. For the next, One Gunter, he swears, that he was a Servant to Mr. Hildesley, at the Star in Coleman Street, and this was in 1648, he saith that many of the Party of Cromwell did use to resort thither, amongst the rest he saw you, he said he came into them, and their Discourse was about Charles Stuart, and the Prisoner—and did guess it was about the King ; that you were privy to it then ; he saith this was Three Days before Oliver Cromwell went out of Town ; the Effect of that is urged no further than this, that you were so far of the Cabal, that you were present with those Persons, Cromwell, Ireton, Rich, and others ; you said, I was there once with Mr. Nathaniel Fines. Starkey, he saith, that at his Fathers House Ireton lay, and was quartered there at Windsor, before and when the King was Prisoner ; that you had your Quarters there, and Cromwell, too, in that Town : The General Meeting of the Council of War was at his Fathers House ; that Ireton and his wife lying there, you

came and resorted thither very often : he saith then that it appeared that after the Council of War had done, many times Rich and you, and Cromwell, and Ireton, were there together, sometimes till Two O'Clock in the Morning : he saith then, that he did observe there was a Fifth Person (he did not remember his name) and you sat up usually till Two or Three in the Morning ; You had Guards about you ; he saith further, that Ireton being a Domestick, he often discoursed with him, and you came sometimes to be there too ; that there being some Discourse concerning the King, many Times he did assert the Law concerning him, that he was *Solutus legibus*, as to his Person ; that you should say, that it was an unequal Law, and that you did then discourse fully against the King's Government ; you said he was a Tyrant, not fit for that Office ; that the Office was useless, chargeable and dangerous ; these very Words he observed, which afterwards were Printed when they took away Monarchy. He saith further, that was their full and whole Discourse ; he saith that his Father at Supper used to say that usual Grace, " God save the King, Prince, and Realm ;" but afterwards that he heard the King was made a Prisoner, that his Father altering the Grace, he said, " God save his most excellent Majesty, and deliver him out of all his Enemies hands ;" you rose up, and said " Old Gentleman, your Idol will not stand long ;" that he did observe you often with them ; he saith further, when Bacon was coming out, and speaking some Words concerning your frequent Affronting the King, you took up a Staff and were ready to beat him, and made an Uproar : It appears also of your being privy to Cromwell's Actions. The next Witness is Walkely and he swears this against you, that he was in the Painted Chamber the next Day after the Proclamation was made ; and there he saw John Goodwin and you : and there was an Assembly, and at the middle of the table John Goodwin was, and made a long Speech or Prayer ; that Cromwell would have had the People stay there, but it was ordered that they should be turned out : at the End he saw you come out with the rest ; there it appeared you were in the Consultation ; he saith he met the Army at St. James's, and then, when they were half past, he saw the King in his Coach, and there

he saw Mr. Peters like Bishop Almoner riding immediately before the King; and at St. James's Park he saw you Marshalling the Soldiers, that he was forced thereupon to go about; he saith further, that within a Year or Two after the Army was raised he heard you say these Words, If we can keep up our Army Seven Years longer we need not care for the King and all his Posterity.

*Peters:* My Lord I must deny abundance of this; the King commanded me to ride before him, that the Bishop of London might come to him.

*Lord Chief Baron:* But this was Three Weeks after . . . The next Witness against you is one Proctor: he saith, that Day (as the other Witness did) he saw you riding just before the King's Coach and because he did his Duty the Soldiers threw him, Horse and all, into a Ditch. The next Witness is one Hardwick, he saith that when the Proclamation was read he saw you in Westminster Hall, and that you said, they had done as good as nothing, unless it was proclaimed in Cheapside and at the Old Exchange; this you said to some of the Officers there.

*Peters:* My Lord, I cannot acknowledge it.

*Lord Chief Baron:* The next Witness against you is Simpson, he swears he saw you in Consultation with Oliver Cromwell, and take Sir William Brereton by the Hand, and come to Bradshawe's and this during the time of the King's Trial; he further saith, that one Day when the King was at his Trial you commanded Colonel Stubbers to bid his Soldiers cry out Justice, Justice, which they cried, and afterwards some of the Soldiers spit upon the King.

*Peters:* I do believe that he, that swore that, cannot say I was there.

*Lord Chief Baron:* Another Witness is one Richardson, who saw you the First Day in the Court; and he said further, that you commended Bradshaw and another, to wit Cook, for their Carriage in the Trial of the King; that you held up your Hands and said This is a most Glorious Beginning of the Work.

*Peters:* Whereabouts in the Court?

*Richardson:* In the Body of the Court, called then the High Court of Justice.

*Peters :* My Lord, I do not know that ever I was in the body of the Court.

*Lord Chief Baron :* The next Witness is Sir Jeremy Whicheot, he saith, he heard you often Speak scurrilously of the King : and making a Narrative of Cromwells Escape, you said there was a Meeting, and there we resolved to set aside the King : remember what the other Witness said, we agreed and here we resolved : you said, I cannot but reverence the High Court of Justice, it doth resemble the Judging of the World at the Last Day by the Saints : so it was the Saints that sat there : I would have preached before the Wretch, but the poor Wretch would not hear me : you often called him Tyrant : I cannot possibly remember the Place, Things, or Words, that are alledged. Then you have another Witness Nunnely, he saith he came with a Warrant to Oliver Cromwell for some Money, and that he should say, go and see the Beheading of the King at Whitehall, he saith there he met with you (though you said you were not there that day) going to the Banquetting House : that you spoke to Tench, and whispered in his Ear, and that Tench went and knocked Staples on the Scaffold : he meeting Tench said, What, are you a Hangman ? Saith Tench, this day will be a happy Day : he saith after all this Hugh Peters was upon the Scaffold, and that he went out with the Hangman.

*Peters :* I do profess to your Lordships before Angels and Men that I did not stir out of my Chamber that day.

*Lord Chief Baron :* The Counsel doth not put Reliance upon that, because of what your Witness saith, though his Evidence is not satisfactory. The next is Clough, and he swears this, that he saw you in the Painted Chamber with the Council of Officers, and there you desired them to call on God for a Blessing upon their Business, and there you said, " O Lord what a Mercy it is to see this great City fall down before us ! And what a Stir is there to bring this Great Man to Trial, without whose Blood he will turn us all into Blood, if he reign again. And this was about a Month before the King was Murdered, you hear it, Mr. Peters.

*Peters :* Some Part I did, but it is impossible for me to bear down many Witnesses, indeed, my Lord, I say this,



they are marvellous Uncharitable, and speak many false Things.

*Lord Chief Baron :* The next is this, the Testimony concerning several Sermons of yours, and let me tell you the Pulpit ought not to be a place where Men with Impunity may speak any Thing, what they list, of Sedition and Treason.

*Peters :* I am of the same Judgment myself, my Lord.

*Lord Chief Baron :* And there was a Solemn Day to seek God, then you preached at St. Margarets' Church ; this was Mr. Bever ; in he came, and heard you talk much of Barabbas and our Saviour ; there you fell upon this speaking of the King, It is a sad thing that it should now be a Question, whether we should crucify our Saviour Jesus Christ, or that great Barabbas, speaking of the King ; you called him Traitor, Tyrant, Murtherer, of his Subjects, and the like, you went on in, a Way of a Story, These Citizens, for a little Trading they will have Christ crucified and the great Barabbas at Windsor released ! and said you, to the Clergy, the Assembly, they are all for crucifying Christ, and releasing Barabbas ; you made that Expression, " O Jesus, what shall we do ? " The King was a Prisoner then at Windsor, you made your Application to the Parliament that was then present, you told them the people did expect Justice from them ; you must not prefer the great Tyrant and Traitor, naming the King, to these poor hearts, (the Red coats standing by).

*Peters :* I must profess against most of that.

*Lord Chief Baron :* There is the same by others. It is further proved by the Order, that you were appointed to preach.

*Peters :* I do not deny I preached, but not these Things.

*Lord Chief Baron :* The next Thing is this, there was one Mr. Chace, this was during the Trial, he saith you preached at Whitehall upon this text, Psalm CXLIX. " To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron," You had two or Three other Verses more ; then you made a Discourse of a Mayor and a Bishop's Man, the Bishop's Man being drunk, the Mayor committed him to Prison ; the Bishop being angry, asked by what Authority ? The Mayor said, there was an Act

of Parliament for it ; he did not find that either the Bishop or his Man was excepted ; you applied that to the King ; said you, I will shew you an Act of the Bible, Whosoever sheds Man's Blood, by Men shall his Blood be shed ; this doth not except the King, Prince, Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, or any of that Rabble."

*Peters* : It is false.

*Lord Chief Baron* : You said further, this is the Day that I and many other Saints of God have prayed for these many Years ;" and Oliver Cromwell laughed at that Time. The next Witness was Tongue, he heard you preach, and he swears the same with the former ; that you applauded the Soldiers, and that you hoped to see such another Day following as the Day before ; and that Blessed be God the House is purged, and the Lords will shortly be pulled out ; and the Twenty Eighth Day of January, which was the Day after the King was Sentenced, at St. James's his Chapel, you took for your Text the CXLIX Psalm, 6, 7, 8 and 9 Verses, whereof these Words were part," To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron ;" there in the middle of that Sermon, having spoken before of the King, you said you did intend to preach before the poor Wretch upon the 14th of Isaiah, 18, 19 and 20 Verses, speaking of all the Kings of the Nations, Thou art cast out of thy Grave like an abominable Branch, &c., he saith further, you said, look upon your lesser Bibles and you will find the Title is, "The Tyrants Fall." There is another Witness that is one Bowdler, a few Days before the King's Death, at St. Sepulcher's, there you fell upon the old Comparison, all along you compared the King to Barabbas ; and that a great many would have Christ crucified, and Barabbas released ; all along comparing the King to Barabbas. One more, and that was Ryder, he heard this Text, "He shall call his name Emmanuel ;" you fell to speak of News ; what shall become of the King ? And you said "the King was Barabbas, and a great many would rather have Christ crucified than Barabbas." And then Mr. Walker he saith, that after the King was first brought to his Trial he heard you say this, I have prayed and preached this Twenty Years and now may I say with old Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy Servant depart

in Peace, for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation ;" He mentions that you made Use of the other Comparison of the Mayor and the Bishop's Man, and inferred from thence that the King and Prince, &c., were not excepted out of the Scripture, where it is said "Whosoever sheds Man's Blood, &c. You have heard all this witnessed against you, what have you to say for yourself?

*Peters:* These are but single Witnesses.

*Lord Chief Baron:* The Statute is Two Witnesses for Treason, but not Two to One individual Thing though there are several Witnesses have proved the same Thing about Barabbas, and our Saviour, "bind their Kings with Chains," &c., and of your other Actions there is a whole jury of Witnesses. Two Witnesses expressly, we agreed upon the King's Death, and we resolved to set the King aside.

*Peters:* I do not know the Witnesses.

*Lord Chief Baron:* One is Sir Jeremy Whicheot, the other is Dr. Young ;\* you shall do well if you have any Thing to invalidate these Witnesses to speak it, else the Jury will be sent together to deliver up their Verdict.

*Peters:* My Lord, if I had Time and Opportunity, I could take off many of the Witnesses, but because their Testimony is without Controle I cannot satisfie myself ; I have no skill in the Law, else I might have spoke for myself ; I do not know what to say more, unless I had more Time and Counsel.

*The Solicitor General:*† If the Prisoner can say no more, here is this in it ; here are Five Places where he did consult about the King's Death, at Windsor, at Ware in Coleman Street, in the Painted Chamber, and in Bradshaw's House ; and Four Witnesses to prove this ; there are Two Witnesses to his Comparison of the King and Barabbas, and Two Witnesses to his Text of binding their Kings in Chains, &c. Proof that he hath been in Action in New England ; that he came from it with that Intent, and then went to Holland ; that he had been in Arms ; that he called the Day of his Majesty's Trial a Glorious Day, resembling

\* Dr. Young, who testified against him, was one of the jury that condemned him.

† Sir Heneage Finch.

the Judging of the World by the Saints ; he prays for this in the Painted Chamber, preaches for it at Whitehall, St. James's chapel St. Sepulchre's ; what Man could more contrive the Death of the King than this miserable Priest hath done ? The Honour of the Pulpit is to be vindicated ; and the Death of this Man will preach better than his Life did ; it may be a Means to convert many a miserable Person, whom the Preaching of this Person hath seduced ; for many come here and say they did it, "in the fear of the Lord ;" and now you see who taught them ; and I hope you will make an Example of this Carnal Prophet.

The Jury went together, and after a little Consultation settled in their Places.

*Clerk :* Are you agreed in your Verdict ?

*Jury :* Yes.

*Clerk :* Who shall say for you ?

*Jury :* Our Foreman.

*Clerk :* How say you ? Is the Prisoner at the Bar Guilty of the Treason whereof he stands Indicted ? Or not Guilty ?

*Foreman :* Guilty.

*Clerk :* And so you say all ?

*Jury :* Yes.

*Clerk :* Look to him Keeper.

*Council :* We desire Mr. Cook may be brought to the Bar, and that they may both have their Judgement pronounced. . . .

*Clerk :* Hugh Peters, Hold up thy Hand ; what hast thou to say for thyself why Judgement should not pass against thee to Die according to Law ?

*Peters :* I will submit myself to God, and if I have spoken anything against the Gospel of Christ I am heartily sorry.

Silence Commanded.

*Lord Chief Baron :* You are both Persons of that Ingenuous and Liberal Education as I hope, I shall not need to tell you what it is to Die, you have had a great deal of Time to think of it ; you could not but think of that Issue of your Doings long ago, and therefore I shall spare my Labour of telling you what it is to Die and of that Eternity that you are to enter into ; only give me leave in

a few Words, in relation to both your Professions, to say something to shew the Nature and Heinousness of this Offence, the Murther of the King. If you were not actually guilty of putting the King to Death, nay, admitting (in Charity) you had no intent to go as far as you did, you are by the Laws of Christ and this Nation, guilty of High Treason, in that you that are a Lawyer know very well (and I speak it that you may lay it to your Hart in the Convictions of your Conscience, I must say to you as Joshua said to Achan, "my Son, give Glory to God, and confess;" and it would become you so to do) you know very well it is the law of this Nation, that no one House, nor both Houses of Parliament have any coercive Power over the King, much less to put him to Death; you know (as you cited very well) that the imprisoning of the King is Treason. You know both of you, this is an undoubted Truth; the rule of the Law is, that the King, that is the King can do no Wrong; in the estimation of Law; he may do some particular Acts as a private Person, but he can do little Prejudice in his own Person; if he would hurt any it must be by Ministers, in that case the Law provides a Remedy; if he doth it by Ministers they must answer for it. The King of England is one of those Princes who hath an Imperial Crown; what is that? It is not to do what he will; no, but it is that he shall not be punished in his own Person if he doth that which in itself is unlawful. Now remember this when you took the Oaths of allegiance and supremacy; (I presume you both did so) What was your Oath of Supremacy? It was this, that the King was the only Supreme Government of these Realms; it goes further, as he was the Supreme Governor, so he was the only Supreme Governor, that excludes Co-ordination; you swear further, that you will to the utmost of your Power defend the King against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever; truly you that were a Lawyer when you had thus sworn, your Fee could be no Excuse against what you had sworn to. We know that the King, in his Politicks or Natural Capacity, is not only *Salus Populi*, but *Salus Reipublicæ*. The Law hath taken care that the People shall have Justice and Right; the King's Person ought not to be touched; the King

himself is pleased to judge by the Law ; you see he doth by Law question the Death of his Father ; he doth not judge it himself, but the Law judges it. Mr. Peters knows very well he subscribed the 39 Articles of Religion ; look upon them that were confirmed in 1552, and upon those Articles that were confirmed in 13 Elizabeth ; the King is there acknowledged to have the Chief Power in these Nations : the meddling with the King was a Jesuitical Doctrine : This I speak, not that the King should or ought to Govern but by the Fundamental Laws of the Land ; they that keep within the Bounds of the Law are happy ; you that are a Lawyer know this in point of Law, and you that are a Divine know this in point of Divinity. You both know the Truth of it, and when you have thought upon it, I hope you will reflect upon that horrid Crime, the shedding of Royal Blood. You see he had granted all those Grievances of the People, taken them away, secured them, for the future ; and at this very Time, when this horrid Act was done you see he had granted all at the Desire of the People ; he had made those Concessions such, as (were it not in respect of others more than those that treated themselves) they thought was more than could be expected by the Nation. You that had a Hand in the King's Death it falls upon you, the Guilt of it, because you were some of those Instruments that assisted those Persons that broke the Treaty : prepare yourselves for that Death which you are to die ; it is a Debt which we all owe to Nature ; if in this case there is something of Shame comes to you it is that you must take as Part of the Reward of your Sin. The only Work, I have now to do is to pronounce the Judgment, and this is the Judgement of the Court, and the Court doth award, that both of you be led back to the Place from whence you came, and from thence shall be drawn upon a Hurdle, &c. and the Lord have Mercy upon your Souls.

*Clerk :* Crier, make Proclamation.

*Clerk :* O Yes, &c. All Manner of Persons, &c. and all Jurors and Witnesses, are to appear at this Place to Morrow Morning at Seven of the clock in the morning upon Pain of One hundred Pounds a piece. So God Bless king Charles, &c.

None of the accused were allowed counsel although they repeatedly asked for the same.

Ere his death let us hear his vindication in his own words.

"The Case of Mr Hugh Peters Impartially Communicated to the View and Censure of the Whole World: Written by his own hand. London; Printed for Sam. Speed, and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the Printing-Press in St. Pauls Churchyard.

"They which think to Vindicate themselves to the World by writing Apologies, rarely reach their ends, because their Game is an After-Game; prejudice is strong, and the Plaister can hardly be made broad enough, nor Apologies put into all hands who have prejudged and received the first tincture. And therefore our blessed Saviour is slow in that work; onely clears the great question of that age, by proving himself the Messiah (Job, 5.) by four witnesses, but not forward to answer expectations of the World otherwise.

"And yet so much of his example there is; yea, so much of St. Pauls, and others, that there seems to be a necessity of saying something, though hard to wipe off so much dirt as is thrown on my self. Yet at this distance and leasure, hearing by printed papers what my lot is in England, my native Country; Therefore I do in the Name and fear of God, and before his holy Majesty, Angels and Men, profess that I never had head nor hand in contriving or managing the late Kings death, as is basely and scandalously suggested by black mouths: was all that day (he dyed) sick and sad in my Chamber, which I prove by two substantial witnesses. And for what is in that Pamphlet June 19, about my confessing in my sickness, landing at Plymouth from Ireland, it is most untrue and mistaken, for I never was sick at Plymouth, nor landed there from Ireland: nor any of that information colourable: & this I avouch in the truth of my soul; and would in presence justifie, if weakness, and lameness, and this distance did not hinder; yea, many years being upon me, and an utter inability to do my self right in these things, if the Lord do not make my way in the hearts of men.

" I shall briefly give an account of my coming into England, my behaviour since I came, and my present condition in this Juncture.

" A Colony going to settle in New England, by his late Majesties Patent, I went thither, who by my birth in Cornwel, was not a meer stranger to that place, and fishing-trade : and thither, invited often, I say, went, and was with another sent into England by the Magistrates there, for ease in Excise and Custom, and some supplies for Learning, &c, because I had been witness to the Indians receiving the Gospel there in Faith and Practise ; they having the Bible translated by us into their Language, and part thereof printed, and hundreds of them professing the Gospel, and teaching each other the knowledge of the true God ; and the rather, from the example of the English there : when in seven years among thousands there dwelling, I never saw any drunk, nor heard an Oath, nor any begging, nor Sabbath broken : all which invited me over to England : but coming, found the Nation imbroyled in troubles and War ; the Preaching was, Curse ye Meroz, from Scotland to England : the best Ministers going into the field : in which (not without urging) I was imbarqued in time ; and by force upon me here, failed of my promise of returning home : which was and is my sad affliction. My first work was, with the first to go to Ireland ; which I did with many hazards, then was at sea with my old Patron the Earl of Warwick, to whom I ow'd my life ; then was imploy'd by the City ; then by the Earl of Essex, my Lord Say, and others ; and my return stopt by the Power that was ; and so was in the last Army in several places, but never in the North : In all which affairs I did labour to perswade the Army to their duty. My principles in Religion guided me to those Orthodox truths exprest in the Confessions of Faith in England ; and known to joyu with the Protestants who are found in the Faith, in Germany upper and lower, France, &c, I have and do hereby witness against all Errours of all kinds. For the War, I thought the Undertakers knew their Work ; I was inconsiderable, yea, heartily sorry for mistakes about me. For my Carriage, I challenge all the Kings party to speak if I were uncivil ; nay, many of



them had my Purse, Hand, Help every way, and are ready to witness it; yea, his present Majesties servants preserved by me through hazards. I was never privy to the Armies transactions about the late King at Holmby or elsewhere, or of any Juncto, Council or Cabal. But when his Majesty sent for me, I went to him, with whom I dealt about my New England business, & was three or four times with him, and had his special acceptance and served him to my utmost, and used all my little skill for his and the Nations good more than twice: for which I have witness; though it be hard to cut my way through so many Rocks. But God is Good.

"It is true, I was of a Party, when I acted zealously, but not with malice or mischief: it hath been accounted Honourable, Et Cesare in hoste probat, to keep to principles of honour and honesty. I never quarrelled others for their judgment in Conscience. It is received, that Religio docenda est, non coercenda. I saw Reformation growing, Laws made, and some against debauchery and evil (which I was glad to read in his Majesties late Proclamation). I saw a very learned, godly, able Ministry as any in the World, well provided for: I saw the Universities reformed, and flourishing; and such things much encouraged me in my Endeavours. I studyed the 13 of the Rom. and was tender; but found the best of Scotland and England of the Ministry engaged, and so satisfied me, that I understand the first undertaking is still maintained good. By the War, I never enriched my self: I have often offer'd my personal Estate for 200l, and for Lands, I never had any but that part of a Noblemans, which I never laid up peny of; nor never urged the Lord Grey, or others, to buy, nor knew not of the sale, till done; nor justifie any unworthy thing in it. I never plundered nor cheated, never made peny over the Sea, nor hoarded or hid any in England.

"I never was guilty of secloding the Members in 48, nor knew it, till done, and sent by my Lord Fairfax to fetch off two of them, and to know who they were that were secloded.

"I never had Jewels, nor anything of Court or State, more than before, directly nor indirectly. Never had any

Ecclesiastical Promotion in my life in the Nation to enrich me ; but lived on my own when I had any thing : nor have been a lover of money.

"The many scandals upon me for uncleanness, &c.. I abhor as vile and false, being kept from that and those aspersions east ; and such I make my protest against as before. I know how low my name runs, how Titleless, how contemned. David knew why Shemei curst him.

"For the Laws of England, I know no place hath better : onely having lived where things are more expedite and cheap, I have shewed my folly so to say : and having no evil intention, a very worthy Lawyer took exception at something of mine or my friends, which was never intended in his sense by either, and crave his excuse ; I can charge my self with evil enough, as any excentrick motion of mine from my own Calling, want of a solemn spirit in slight times, with unbelief, if I have gone about to reach Religious ends by trampling upon civil duties, breaking of any Covenants, or slighting them ; and do fear Gospel, and the Spirit also may be undervalued by mine, and others unworthy dealing with them. Much to these I might add, who have seen many vanities under the Sun ; and the World hung with Nets and Snares : Alas, there is nothing to Christ.

"And lastly, I understand what exception is upon me for Life and Estate in the House of Commons. I have taken hold of the Kings Majesties gracious Pardon, as others did ; and know not truly where this exception lies grounded. I wish I had been with their Honours to have clear'd it. I hope a Vagrant report or Airy Noise takes no Place with them : for I challenge the World for my innocence for these suggestions ; and appeal to their Honours, and the Noble Lords for a review of the Charge or Information ; and crave no favour if any sober man can charge me : otherwise I most heartily beg just favour, unless my evil be only for acting with such a party, I must have it : For I know before whom my Cause is, and may not despair.

"I must again profess were I not a Christian, I am a Gentleman by birth, and from that extract do scorn to engage in the vile things suggested, and that by one

creditless witness, that only supposeth, but asserts nothing.

"I wish from my heart that our present Prince may be, and the Nation by him more happy then any; and that the true ends of Government may be had and communicated fully; that every honest heart may have cause to rejoyce in God, the King, and their Laws. And for my self (through Grace) I resolve to be quiet in a corner (if I may) to let God alone with ruling the World, to whose Wisdom and Power we ought to submit; yea, to mind mine own work, though never so small; to be passive under Authority, rather then impatient; to procure the quiet and peace of the Nation to my utmost; to mind things invisible, and of a better consistence then these below; and to pray, when I can do no more.

Hugh Peters."\*

EXTRACTS FROM "A DYING FATHER'S LAST LEGACY  
TO AN ONLY CHILD."

"There [in New England] I continued seven years till sent thither by the Plantation to mediate for ease in Customs and Excise; the Country being poor, and a tender Plant, of their own setting and manuring. But coming hither, found the Nation imbroiled in those Civil Discontents, Jars and Wars, and here was forced to stay, though I had nothing to support me but the Parliament's Promises. And not being able in a short time to compass my Errand, studied with a constant purpose of Returning, and went with the first to Ireland, most of your London Godly Ministers being engaged in Person, Purse and Preaching in the Trouble; I thought Ireland the clearest

\* No date is given to these printed pages, but they were evidently written early in 1660, O.S.; they are bound with two other short articles: "Peters Pattern, or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness, As it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon Preached at the Interrment of Mr. Hugh Peters lately deceased. By I. C. Translator of Pineda upon Job, and one of the Trilers. Gusham, Lib. i. Chap. 2. Verse 1. Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas. London, printed in the Year 1659," and "The Tryall and Condemnation of Mr. John Cooke, Solicitor to the late High court of Injustice, and Mr. Hugh Peters, that carnall Prophet. For their severall High-treasons, &c. At the Sessions house in the Old bailey, on Saturday, the 13 of October, 1660. Together with Their severall Pleas, and the Answers therunto. Proverbs 25. v. 5. Take away the wicked from before the King, and His Throne shall be established in righteousness. London Printed for John Stafford and Edward Thomas, 1660."

work; and had the Pay of a Preacher then and afterward, as I could get it; I was not there at Edge-hill, nor the Bishop of Canterburies troubles or death. Upon my return was staid again from going home [mark, he calls it home] by the Earl of Warwick my Patron; then by the Earl of Essex, afterward by the Parliament, who at last gave me an Estate, now taken away. I had access to the King about my New-England business; he used me civilly; I, in requital, offered my poor thoughts three times for his safety; I never had hand in contriving or acting his Death, as I am scandalized, but the contrary (to my mean power;) I was never in any Council or Cabal at any time, I hated it, and had no stowage for Council, thinking all Government should lie open to all; nor had a penny from any General, but lived in debt, as now I am; nor had means for my Expenses, what I had others shared in. I confesse I did what I did strenuously, though with a weak head, being over-laid with my own and others troubles; never was angry with any of the King's Party, nor any of them for being so; thought the Parliament-Authority lawfull and never studied it much: have not had my hand in any man's blood, but saved many in Life and Estate. The Parliament in 1644 gave me the Bishop's Books valued at 140£. which I intended for New-England, being a part of his private Library, which (with all mine own) I have often offered for 150£. the mistake about them was and is great, for they never were so considerable: And these were my gettings who never aimed to be rich nor ever had means to reach it. . . .

"The Changes grew (as you see) a Commonwealth I found but thus altered: I staid so long at White-hall, contented with any good Government that could keep things together; till the breach of that they call Richard's Parliament, and then I removed, and never returned more, but fell sick long, and in trouble ever since; never was summoned but once by the Council which was in April, about Books; of which (lying sick) I craved of the President of the Council to excuse me, who sent unto me he had, and I gave him an account of the Books: but hearing that my Estate was gone, and I indebted, was private, and did purpose so to live, and so to die, having

a resolution (which I kept) never to meddle with State-matters, but either here, or in New-England, to spend my old age, in looking into my Grave and Eternity: and never had to do with any Insurrection with Souldiers or others; nor never would, had I a longer life, my head and heart be tired, as well as my body craz'd: I thought the Act of Indemnity would have included me, but the hard Character upon me, excluded me, which I was so sensible of, that Nature (in its own preservation) carried me to privacy; but free from that report of the manner which is suggested, of which you may be assured: By my zeal (it seems) I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach: but wish you to know that (besides your Mother) have had no fellowship (that way) with any Woman since first I knew her, having a godly wife before also, I blesse God.

"But because what is before written, may seem my white side only, I shall deal in all plainness with you, That though in Religion I am and have been really sound and Orthodox to my best apprehension, according to the blessed Word of God; and the generality of the Protestant Confessions; yea, though I travell'd through Protestant Churches for Order, to copy the best, and have joyned with the Churches of Christ, and took in with that I call a Tender Presbytery, for such was ours in New-England, and yet so, as I never unchurcht any Parish where a godly Minister was, and godly People joyned together, though not all so; and do know God may have a People under all forms and would withdraw to the furthest Judges, rather than give offence to what I cannot close with; yet so unworthy have my thoughts been of myself to be a meet Preacher of the Gospel, that more than twice had I given it over, had not Friends prevailed; yea, my profession of the Gospel hath been with much folly, weakness and vanity: I crave pardon of any that have taken offence, though in a Christian way I have not had the reproofs of Three either for Preaching or Conversation. I am heartily sorry I was Popular, and known better to others than myself: It hath much lain to my heart above any thing almost, That I left the people I was engaged to in New-England, it cuts deeply, I look upon it as a Root-evil: and though I was never Parson nor Vicar, never took

Ecclesiastical promotion, never preach'd upon any agreement for money in my life, though not without offers, and great ones ; yet I had a Flock, I say I had a Flock to whom I was ordained, who were worthy of my Life and Labours ; but I could never think my self fit to be their Pastor, so unaccomplisht for such a work, for which, who is sufficient (cryes the Apostle) ?

"This is my sore trouble ; and a private life would have become me best, and my poor gift have had its vent also. But here I was overpowered to stay. For Errors in Judgment I have pittied, never closed with any that I know ; when I was a Tryer of others, I went to hear and gain Experience rather than to judge : When I was called about mending Laws, I rather was there to pray than to mend Laws ; When to judge in Wills, I only went sometimes to learn, and help the Poor, than to judge, but in all these I confesse I might well have been spared.

"Nor do I take pleasure in remembering any my least activity in State-matters, though this I can say, I nowhere minded who ruled fewer or more, so the good ends of Government be given out, in which men may live in *Godliness and Honesty*. I have often said, That is a good Government, *where men may be as good as they can, not so bad as they would* ; where good men and things are uppermost ; and have thought if good Magistrates cannot bring all to their Judgments, the Dissenters may have liberty, being kept out of office, and want some other publick characters. That which a Friend of mine, and myself writ by Letters about Magistrates, was very little, and the Records of the Tower were only named, as giving way to all other Records, to cut off dissensions, or marks of Tyranny, which no good Prince will exercise ; I am sorry if any offended, it was Zeal for Quietnesse. I honour Laws, and good Lawyers heartily, and know their use ; only ease, expedition and cheapness, what good man doth not call for ? Sedition is the heating mens minds against the present Authority, in that I never was, yet sorry, Authority should have any hard thoughts of me, or know so inconsiderable a creature as myself. I never could be fit for a Court, many wayes not fit, and am therefore grieved that I was either constrained, or content to live,

where I could do so little good ; for I would dye without a secret in my bosom, unless Cases of Conscience in the way of Preaching, which are secret, indeed ; and for reading them to the world I had appointed a Portion had it been continued to me.

" Upon all this you may ask what design I drove, being look'd upon that way ? Truly these three :

" First, That Goodness, that which is really so, and such Religion might be highly advanced.

" Secondly, That good Learning might have all Countenance.

" Thirdly, That there might not be a Beggar in Israel, in England.

" And for all these I have projected or laboured, and I have no other. And these I pray his present Majesty may looke to, and that God would blesse him every way.

" If in the prosecutions of these I have used any of my wonted rudenesse, or unguarded zeal I am heartily as Sorry. So begging pardon from God and Man, Constitution or Custom, I conclude in these particulars, though the aim be good.

" I conclude the former thus : I think, That as bad men care not who rule, or what is uppermost, so they may have their lusts ; so good men, if they may enjoy God and his Truth, with good Conscience. For my whole course you know and feel where my wound hath been these Twenty years,\* which hath occasioned not only my Head and Heart breaking, but travelling from mine own Nest into businesse.

" Blesse God, if ever you meet with suitableness in Marriage : For my spirit it wanted weight, through many tossings, my head that composure others have, credulous, and too careless ; but never mischievous nor malicious : I thought my work was to serve others, and so mine own Garden not so well cultivated ; only this I say, I aimed at a good mark, and trust the Lord in Jesus Christ hath accepted it. My Faith in the Everlasting Covenant was and is, though feeble, yet Faith. I could thus continue, ripping my whole heart to you, who have very often had great success, even to the last hours of my last Preaching,

\* His wife's mental malady.

and am preaching the life of Faith to my self, to which call in all prayers to the Father in Jesus Christ his dearest Son, to whom let us look, as the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the pay that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despised the Shame, and now sits at the right hand of Majestie, making Intercessions for Transgressors, Heb. 12, 12. To whom be Glory and Praise, and Thanks for Ever. For he is worthy, who hath washed us from our sins by his own Blood, and made us Kings, and Priests unto God the Father ; To him be Glory and Dominion for ever.

"For that part of my Lord Craven's Estate, which I have, took no small place in my trouble.\* You may know that I was not in the City when that Act was made, nor urged my Lord Grey to buy ; nor ever advised the said Lord (as I had time) but to good and just things and company, against that Spirit of *Levelling* then stirring : and do heartily wish, that taken offence might dye : for it was not intended by me, who could and can be as well contented without Land, as with it ; never being ambitious to be great or rich since I knew better things.

"And now I must return to yourself again, and to give you my thoughts about your own Condition. I do first commend you to the Lord, and then to the care of a Faithfull Friend, whom I shall name unto you, if a Friend may be found in this Juncture, that dare own your Name (though there be more of your Name) and if such a Friend advise it, that you serve in some Godly Family, to which you seem to incline, and must (it seems) ; but truly if not a good Family, what will your Condition be ? Dwell where God dwells, and be in such Company, as you must be with in Heaven, and then you do but change your place, not your company, though it be unexpected and uncouth, yet remember the best men have been servants, Moses kept his father's sheep ; so Jacob and the Patriarchs ; David to Saul, and many more ; I have before given thee Rules for it ; and be sure to be steady to Family and Private

\* The Parliament had granted Peter lands out of Lord Craven's estate. "1660. Ye 10th d. of the 6th Mo. Concerning Mr Peters I heare little, onely from brother Hooker, that the lord Craven waytes hopefully for the restitution of his lands, wherein, he saith Mr Peters hath a share, he is of kin to Monck, and sometimes dineth with him."—The Revd. John Davenport to John Winthrop Jr. Newhaven. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3rd series, Vol. x, p. 38.



Duties, your Life will be dead without them, call your Condition God's Ordinance, and he can blesse it to you. But if you would go home to New-England (which you have much reason to do) go with good Company and trust God there; the Church are a Tender Company; a little will carry us through the world, yea very little: Oh Godliness with Content! Your faithfulness to me and your Mother will find acceptance in Heaven, I trust. My dear Child, tell me how couldst thou be without God's Rod? remember he hath a Staffe also. For your Mother (considering her distemper) I have and shall say more unto you. To his Grace who is able to do above all we can ask or think, I commend you both."

"And if I go shortly where time shall be no more, where Cock nor Clock distinguish hours, sink not; but lay thy head in his Bosom who can help thee: for he sits upon the Waves. Farewell.

"And since we must part, must part; take my Wishes, Sighs and Groans to follow thee, and pittie the feebleness of what I have sent, being writ under much, yea very much discomposure of spirit."\*

This written testimony concerning his life and work is added to that which he gave at his trial. History itself tells us of his many kindnesses to distressed royalists; and no less a person than the King himself was, while in prison, indebted to Peter for the services of Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, and for the admittance to his person of Sir John Denham intrusted with a message from the Queen.†

"Some Notes taken of a Sermon preached by | Mr. Hugh Peters, the 14th. of October, 1660, | after his condemnation, in the Prison of Newgate, | where he was much interrupted by the coming in and | going forth of strangers that came to see him, and | the other prisoners, in the Room with him, and so | was constrained to break off the sooner; And though | they are but brief Heads,

\* "A dying Father's Last Legacy to an Onely Child, or Mr. Hugh Peters Advice to his Daughter, written by his own Hand during his late Imprisonment in the Tower of London; and given her a little before his Death."

† Whitelock: Sir John Denham's Epst. Dedie. to Charles II. of his Poems; 2d ed. 1671.

yet it's thought con- | venient here to insert them, for the better satisfac- | tion of any touching the frame of Mr. Hugh Peters | at the time. |

"The discourse was from Psal. 42, ver. 11 : Why art thou cast down, O my soule? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my Countenance and my God.

"After Analyzing the psalme, he Observed this Doctrine.

"Doctrine, That the best of God's people are apt to be disponding. This was the Man's case in the whole 88 psal. Also David's case, when he complained of the breaking of his Bones, &c. This was Christs case himselfe, when he cryed out My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me.

"The Reasons why the best of God's people, are apt to dispondencies, are,

"First, When something falls out from God more than ordinary, when God puts weight in Sorrow and Affliction, that makes it sinking : Although that Afflictions are heavy of themselves many times, yet it's the weight that God puts in sorrow, that makes it sink us.

"2ly Over-valuing our comforts, putting too much upon Wife, Children, Estate, or Life itself, a man is apt to be cast down when he thinks of parting with them.

"Thirdly, Our unpreparednesse for sufferings, and afflictions that makes us dispond. Also, I thought not of it say some, its come unexpectedly upon me.

"Fourthly, We are apt to dispond when our Afflictions are many when they are multitudes, when all is struck at together, Name, Estate, Relations and Life itself.

"Fifthly, When Afflictions are of long continuance, a man can bear that Burthen a while, that he cannot stand under long.

"Sixthly, when Afflictions fall upon the noblest part of man which is his soule, then are dispondencies apt to come in.

"Seventhly, When we have more Sense then Faith,

"Now it should not be so, God's people ought not to be so, God's people ought not to dispond. 1. Because it discovers impatieney. 2. Because it discovers want of Faith, they leane not upon the Rock that will not faile them. 3. It discovers want of Wisdom, &c. 4. We

should not be thus, because it gratifies the Enemy, who in such a case is ready to upbraid us, and say, where is now their God? what is become of their God?

"Now what cure and remedies are there for disponding. The Eleventh verse gives two. First, *Hope in God, Hope thou in God.* Secondly, Faith is set on work, *I shall yet praise him, &c.*

"But more particularly take these directions. 1. Be carefull of exercising faith, for no condition of man superceeds his Faith, do all in Faith, pray in Faith, and bear in Faith, &c. Now what is the exercise of Faith but rouling\* upon Christ, and staying on him, here I'll stick, if I perish, I perish.

"The miscarriages of Christians, is either because they have no faith, or else, because, if they have faith, they give it not food to live upon; faith must go to Christ, as the Liver Vaine and fetch blood and life thence. We quarrel that we have not Love, and patience and meeknesse, &c. but the defect lyes in our faith, if we had more faith we should have more of all other Graces.

"*Now what is the food of faith?* Ans. Faith will not feed upon every dish, not on a stalled Ox or fatted Calfe; prosperity is not faiths food. But it will Eat a word, live upon promises, these nourish faith, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee, all things shall work together for good,* and the like promises.

"2. Be marvellously carefull of things below, measure things below, measure things not by sense, or by a day, but by faith and Eternity; we are troubled at the losse of this and tother Creature, and comfort, but what's the value of them, the over valling things is our mischief.

"3. Go and tell the Lord Christ I have defiled conscience, and if thou doest not wash me, I am undone for Ever. See the necessity and worth of Christ; there must be something better to look at than what we loose for the present, something above Estate, and Life, and Relations, and Name. See the worth of Christ's blood,

\*This curious word is evidently "roll." See Pepys' Diary, Mar. 7, 1661-2. "Early to White Hall to the Chapel where, by Mr. Baggrave's means I got into his pew and heard Dr. Cretton, the great Scotchman and chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King and Duke and Duchess upon the words of Micah: 'Roule yourselves in dust.' He made a most learned sermon upon the words; but in his application, the most comical man that ever I heard in my life. Just such a man as Hugh Peter."

it's worth all the world, because what the blood of Bulls and Goats could not doe, his blood doth cleanse from all sinne.

"4. Keep close to the use of Ordinances much of our mischief hath come from neglects of this kind ; the safety of a Christian lyes in the enjoyment of Church Communion, Psal. xxvii-4, 5, and 6 Verses, One thing I have desired of the Lord, and that will I seeke after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the dayes of my Life, &c. for in the time of trouble he shall hide me in his Pavillion, in the seeret of his Tabernacle, shall he hide me, he shall set me upon a Rock ; and now shall my head be lifted up above mine Enemies round about me, &c. *The greatest fears are dispelled then—you shall find before troubles passe over (for you expect some) it will be a hard matter to break Churches, they are so fast Chaynel together, and yet there hath been marvellous miscarriages amongst Saints in their Church Relations.*

#### FINIS.

He also during his imprisonment in the *Tower*, wrote some sheets of paper to his Daughter, leaving them with her as his last Legacy, containing in it very much sound and wholesome advice as to her soules health. It carries with it such a savour as denotes it proceeds from a spirit that hath learned experience in Christ's schoole, and hath been acquainted sometimes with sunshine as well as foul weather, it's too long here to be inserted, but if it be made publick by itselfe, doubtlesse the Experienced Reader will be no looser by perusing this legacy."

In Cobbett's State Trials, London, 1792, appear the following extracts from "Some Memorable Passages of Mr. Hugh Peters, in his Imprisonment at Newgate, and at the time of his Execution at Charing-Crosse, October 16, 1660.

"Mr. Peters, as is well known, was exercised under a great Conflict in his own Spirit, during the time of his Imprisonment, fearing (as he would often say) that he should not go through his Sufferings with Courage and Comfort, and said to Friends, that he was somewhat unprepared for Death, and therefore unwilling to dye ; something he said he had committed, and other things

omitted, which troubled him; but tho' it was a Cloudy and dark Day with him for a Season; yet the Light of Gods Grace and Favour would break forth at last.

"And surely the Favour of God did at last appear, for a little before he went forth to Execution (as many can testify) he was well composed in his Spirit, and cheerfully said, I thank God now I can dye, I can looke Death in the Face and not be afraid.

"As for the slanderous Report which was too much received by good People as well as bad, to wit, that he was guilty of Uncleanesse: A Friend coming to him in Prison, put that Question seriously and soberly to his Soule, to which he reply'd That he blessed the Lord, he was wholly clear in that Matter, and that he never knew any woman but his own wife.

"A Night or two before he suffered, two of the Episcopal Clergy, who as some report were the King's Chaplains, came to give him a Visit; they endeavoured to make Advantage of the Temptations wherewith he was then assaulted, and to perswade him to a Repentance and Recantation of his former Activity in the Parliament Cause, which they endeavoured to enforce upon him by a Promise of Pardon from the King, in case he would harken to them. But tho' he was then much afflicted in his Spirit, yet the Lord did help him to beare up with much Courage against the Insinuations of that sort of Men, and told them he had no Cause in the least to repent of his Adhering to that Interest; but rather, that he had in the Prosecution thereof done no more for God and his People, in these Nations; and with Civility dismissing those Visitants, he applyed himself to some other Ministers then present, whome he judged more able to speake a Word in Season to him under these great Tryals, wherewith the Lord was then pleased to exercise him. . . .

"Mr Cooke to Mr Peters In the Dungeon said, 'Brother Peters, we shall be in Heaven to-morrow in Bliss and Glory, What a blessed thing is that, my very heart leaps within me for Joy; I am now just as I was in the storm, almost in Sight of Heaven. Read me, Isuah, 43, 9-10-11; 61; 10-11 Hosea 13-14.' Then looking upon his bed, said 'That shall be my last Pillow, I will lay me

down and sleep a while,' and he slept about an hour and a half, and then awoke saying, 'Now farewell Sleep, no more Sleep in this World and farewell Darkness and Light I am going where there shall be no Night there neither need of Candle, nor of the Sun for the Lord will give us Light; yea, the Lord will be our everlasting Light, and our God will be our Glory.' . . .

Justice Coke on the day of execution said to Mr. Peters, "Brother Peters, this is our wedding-day; we know that the bridegroom is come, and we are ready to enter into the marriage, we are now going to the souls under the altar, and could our Judges but know what glory we shall be in before 12 o'clock, they would desire and pray to be with us, their blindness is my sorrow: for when we are gone, our blood will cry, and do them more hurt, than if we had lived."

The third day after their trial, Oct. 16, 1660, Peter and the Solicitor John Coke, who had been one of the prosecutors of the late King, were dragged on "two sleddes"\* from Newgate to the place of their execution at Charing-Cross. Their sentences were the same, but the head of Major General Harrison had been placed on a pole on Coke's sled with the face towards him. Instead of this sight filling Coke with fear it appeared to inspire him with courage and enthusiasm.

In his last speech he said (referring to Peter's previous state of mind), "Here is a poor Brother coming, I am afraid that he is not fit to die at this Time: I could wish his Majesty might shew some Mercy."

"The Sheriff interrupted in Words to this effect: 'Let that alone, for the King's Majesty hath Clemency enough for all but his Father's Murderers.'"

Coke suffered first: he was hanged by the neck and then cut down alive. His body, after other mutilation, was opened and the bowels were taken out and burned. Then came the merciful blow that severed the head from the body, and lastly the body was cut into four parts for permanent exhibition in as many places; these being, usually, the four principal cities of the kingdom, while the head was set upon Temple Bar.

\* Ludlow.

"Peter, being carried upon the Sledge to execution, and made to sit within the Railes at Charing-Crosse to behold the Execution of Mr Coke. One comes to him and upbraided him with the Death of the King, bidding him (with opprobrious Language) to repent: He replied, 'Friend, you do not well to trample upon a Dying Man, you are greatly mistaken, I had nothing to do in the Death of the King.'

"When Mr Cooke was cut down and brought to be quartered, one they called Coll. Turner, calling to the Sheriff's Men to bring Mr Peters near, that he might see it, And by and by the Hangman came to him, all besmer'd in Blood, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, he (tauntingly) ask'd, 'Come, how do you like this, Mr Peters, how do you like this Work?' To whom he reply'd, 'I am not (I thank God) terrified at it, you may do your worst!'

"When he was going to his execution, he look't about and espy'd a Man, to whom he gave a Piece of Gold (having Bowed it first) and desir'd him to goe to the Place where his Daughter lodged, and to carry that to her as a Token from him, and to let her know that :—\*

"My heart is full of Comfort; I am ready to die; weep not for me; let them weep who part and shall never meet again, you and I shall meet again in Heaven, and before this piece of Gold reaches you I shall be with God in Glory, where is no Night, no need of a Candle, nor of the Sun for the Lord will give us Light.' The man being dismissed with the piece of gold Mr Peters said to the Sheriff: 'I truly forgive you and all men from my heart and if you will believe the words of a dying man, I tell you, I am not convinced of any thing I have done amiss in the business for which I am condemned to suffer, and of consequence, I do not repent of anything there is done by me. I own the cause of God and his people and I am here this day to bear witness to it, I bless the Lord I have nothing lying upon my conscience and I bless the Lord that he has in goodness and mercy made me willing to give myself a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto

\* State Trials, London, 1792.

God. I thank the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that in weakness I am strong, and am not unwilling to go to God through the fire and jaws of death, blessed be the Lord Jesus, that hath given me the victory over sin and death, and hath supported me with spiritual Joy on this good day. Oh, my soul, bless the Lord, that death, my good friend, is come to guard me out of time into eternity, bless the Lord, O my soul, in this moment ; for he is come that I have long looked for, and support me with his everlasting arm, come, beloved spirit, come and make haste, and be thou like a young roe upon the mountain of spices. Lord Jesus, I come to thee upon the wings of faith, Lord Jesus receive me with grace into the Joy of my Lord. Amen.' Then with a smiling countenance, he yielded to the stroke of death."\*

"Being upon the ladder he [Peter] spake to the Sheriffe saying. Sir, you have here slain one of the Servants of God before mine eyes, and have made me to behold it, on purpose to terrifie and discourage me, but God hath made it for an Ordinance to me for my Strengthening and Encouragement.

"When he was going to die, he said, 'What Flesh, art thou unwilling to go to God through the Fire and Jaws of Death? Oh, (said he) this is a good day, he is come that I have long look'd for, and I shall be with him in Glory,' and so smiled when he went away.†

"Tuesday following, being the sixteenth of October, Mr John Cook and Mr Hugh Peters were about the same hour [between nine and ten in the morning] carried on two Hurdles to the same place, and executed in the same manner, and their Quarters returned in like manner to the place whence they came [Newgate].

"The Head of Mr Cook is since set on a Pole on the North-East end of Westminster Hall (on the left of Mr Harrisons) looking towards London, and the Head of Mr

\* It is much to be regretted that the above quotation cannot be placed as it perfectly completes the account given by Ludlow and State Trials; but the latter says: "What Mr Peters said further at his execution, either in his speech or prayer it could not be taken, in regard his voice was low at that time and the people uncivil." Our informant was evidently better placed, and heard all, as the following lines from "State Trials" appear to be but imperfectly heard fragments which do not give, altogether, the same impression as does the full and complete account.

† State Trials, London, 1792, Vol. II, p. 413.



Peters on London Bridge. Their Quarters are exposed in like manner upon the tops of some of the City Gates.”\*

It is singular that Peters was so severely treated when others, much more deeply concerned in the King's death, were dealt with so differently.

“But the Body of Mr Hacker was by his Majesties just favour given entire to his friends and buried.”†

“Never,” said the official newspaper, “was person suffered death so unpitied and (which is more) whose execution was the delight of the people.”‡

His family was left in extreme poverty; in July, 1677, John Knowles of London writes to Governor Leverett requesting among other things that Mr Higginson's congregation provide in part for Mrs. Peters who has been supported by Mr Cockquaine and his church.

The following appears to be the entry of the marriage of his daughter:

“All Hallowes Church, London Wall, April 23, 1665: Thomas Barker and Elizabeth Peters.”

“Ye 10 Appl, 1703, Sr. . . . I am desired by Mrs Elizabeth Barker daughter to Mr Hugh Peters, to write you in her favour, in reference to a concerne to be transacted there in recoverie of her father's lands and estates. It hath beene so long delaied already, and if not speedily donne will be shorte of ye time of your country limitations. Have taken much pains in examining her papers and letters from thence, wch directed her to send over letter of attorney; was wth her before ye Lord Mayor of these citty, when oathe was made of her being ye reputed daughter of Mr Peter. Some New England men were alsoe present to attest and witsesse it wth ye letter of attorney. . . . She is a widow and in low circumstances. If you can bee servisable to her, it will bee a grate kindnesse and respect to memory of her father soe well known in New England.”§

Winthrop, in his reply, refers to an indebtedness of Peter's to his father of some five or six hundred pounds, and he professes himself unable to be of any assistance.

\* An Exact and most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, and Judgment (according to Law) of nine and twenty Regicides, London, 1660.

† Col. Hacker was one of the three officers charged with the execution of the King's sentence.

‡ Dictionary of National Biography and Mercurius Publicus, Vol. II, p. 670.

§ Letter from Samuel Reade to Wait Winthrop. Mass. Hist. Coll.

There is also a deposition from Elizabeth Barker in which she states that having omitted certain things in a previous petition "some persons there taking advantage thereof and of the absence and poverty of the said Elizabeth, have entered into the same property and are still in possession thereof, these derive noe title thereto, either from the crowne, or from said father or herself, but are ready to compound with her if they may be secure therein. The said Elizabeth being very poor having been a widow many yeares, and having had a constant charge upon her of eight children, three of which in the last war died in his Majesty's service and the rest being incapable to afford her a maintenance, and she being altogether helpless, her hard circumstances rendering her a fit and just object, of her Majesty's clemency, and therefore prayed her Royal letter to Colonel Dudley, Governor of Boston Colony, to pass a patent to her for the said lands formerly her father's."

June 30, 1704. Elizabeth Barker of London, widow, only daughter and heiress of Hugh Peter, sometimes heretofore of Salem, N. E. deceased, Clerk, confirms to Robert Devereux of Marblehead, Tanner, the farm of 350 acres now in his occupation.\*

In 1703-4, Samuel Sewall in a letter to John Thompson, of Jan. 18, writes: "The memory of Mr Peters is still set by in Salem."†

In his history of Salem, published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st series, Vol. vii, Rev. William Bentley says of Hugh Peter:

"No man ever possessed more sincerely the affections of his people. Mr Hugh Peters in his person was tall and thin. He was active and sprightly. In speech he was ready but his language was peculiar to himself. He had a power of associating his thoughts in such a manner, as to be sure to leave them upon the memory. If his images were coarse they were familiar, and never failed to answer his purpose. Wherever he went, whatever he said, it was sure to be remembered. . . . Mr Peters was known to get the favour of the people by his simple manner of living, travelling on foot and freedom of conversation."

\* New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register, Vol. xl, p. 66.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., 6th series, Vol. I, p. 288.

Thomas Burton says in his Diary: "Hugh Peters was of Queen's\* College where, is a picture of him in the gallery of the Master's Lodge which I saw there March 21 (1671), he is in his own hair and in a black gown and rather a well-looking open countenanced man, the present Master Dr Plumptre told me that when he first came to the presidentship this inscription was on the picture: 'Hugh Peters the seditious misleader,' but that he had struck it out so that now there is lately printed on it his name only, Hugh Peters; by it is a picture of Oliver Cromwell of the same size with his name 'Oliver Cromwell,' thereon instead of the usurper Oliver Cromwell which Dr Plumptre had erased, the Master supposed the two original inscriptions secured them a place in his gallery at the restoration."†

The only portrait of Peter now known to exist is owned by C. E. Treffry, Esquire, and is in his dining room at Place, in Fowey, Cornwall, —his mother's home.

List of the writings of Hugh Peter:‡

1 Advice of that Worthy Commander Sir Edward Harwood upon occasion of the French King's Preparation; also a Relation of his Life and Death, 4to, 1642.

2 A True Relation of the passages of God's Providence in a voyage to Ireland. . . wherein every day's work is set down faithfully by H. P. an eye witness thereof, 4to, 1642.

3 Preface to Richard Mather's Church Government and Church Covenant discussed, 4to, 1643.

4 Mr. Peters' Report from the Armies, 26 July, 1645, with a list of the chiefest officers taken at Bridgewater, &c, 4to, 1645.

5 Mr. Peters' Report from Bristol, 4to, 1645.

6 The Full and Last Relation of all Things concerning Basing House, with divers other passages reported to Mr. Speaker and divers Members in the House. By Mr. Peter who came from Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, 4to, 1645.

7 Master Peter's message from Sir Thomas Fairfax with the Narration of the taking of Dartmouth.

\* Error; he was of Trinity.

† Burton's Diary ("by Mr Cole in his Mss. XXIV. 138" says Burton) Vol. I, p. 244. (Carlyle asserts that there was no such person as Thomas Burton and that the Diary was written by Nathaniel Bacon.)

‡ Dictionary of National Biography.

8 Master Peter's message from Sir Thomas Fairfax with the whole state of the west and all the particulars about the disbanding of the Prince and Sir Ralph Hopton's Army, 4to, 1646.

9 God's Doings and Man's Duty, a sermon preached April 2, 1646, 4to.

10 Mr. Peters' Last Report of the English Wars, occasioned by the Importunity of a Friend pressing an answer to seven Queries, 4to, 1646.

11 Several Propositions presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Peters concerning the Presbyterian Ministers of this Kingdom with the discovery of two great Plots against the Parliament of England, 4to, 1646.

12 A Word for the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom, to clear the one and cure the other, forced in much Plainness and Brevity, from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters, London, 1647.

13 Good Work for a Good Magistrate, or a Short Cut to Great Quiet, by plain, honest, homely English hints given from Scripture, Reason and Experience for the regulating of most cases in this Commonwealth, by H. P., 12mo, 1651.

14 A Preface to "The Little Horn's Doom and Downfall" by Mary Cary, 12mo, 1651.

15 Latin Verses on Henry Ireton, 1650.

16 Dedication to *Operum Gulielmi Amesii volumen primum*. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1658.

17 A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Orphel Child, or Mr Hugh Peters' Advice to his Daughter, written by his own Hand during his late Imprisonment in the Tower of London, And given her a little before his Death: London, Printed for G. Calvert, and T. Brewster, and are sold at the Black-Spread Eagle, and at the Three Bibles, at the West-End of Pauls, 1660. 12mo.

18 The Case of Mr Hugh Peters impartially Communicated to the View and Censure of the Whole World, written by his own Hand, 4to. 1660.

19 A sermon by Hugh Peters preached before his death as it was taken by a faithful hand, and now published for public information, London, printed by John Best, 4to. 1660.

Thirty-five of his letters are to be found in the Winthrop Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Collections,\* and there is an autograph letter of his in the Massachusetts Archives,† which has been published in the Hutchinson Papers, page 59.

His fun and wit shine in many of them; take this one written to John Winthrop in 1636:

"A little newes I had out of a late letter come to hand out of England which you may tell the Governour from me to make him laugh.‡ At Bristow in one church whilst they were preaching a great Bull broke into the churchyard and a company of boyes followed him with squibs; the people within were taken up before with thoughts that the papists that day would rise, and had warding all the Country over; the Bull and the squibs so wrought vpon their melancholy braynes, that one cryes out, if I perish, I'll perish here, another swounds away, another they are come, they are come."

In another letter: "Mr Eaton very ill of the Skurvey. Aneele py. . . . Bendall hath buried his wife; another eele Py." Two tragedies in two lines.

Dedication of God's Doings and Man's Duty "to the Honourable, the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common Counsell of this famous City of London. . . . That you are made wealthy for others, not yourselves alone, That you would not make Opinions your Interest which are changeable, but Godlinesse and Faithfulnesse, That you would rather punish known sins, shew mercy on the poor, a known duty, maintain Civil peace, look to your City-privileges rather then lose yourselves in doubtful questions." . . . § From the sermon:

"I am bold to say you have heard more of Christ within these last four years, then you have for forty before. . . . Truly I know nothing so heavie but love can lift, nothing so high but it can reach, nothing so deep but it can fathom. . . . It will be love to the Lord, if we love him in his dispensations when they have their viscissitudes; to love

\* Peters' letters quoted in this article are nearly all from the Winthrop Papers, Mass. Hist. Coll.

† Vol. 240, page 33.

‡ Vane.

§ The letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, previously quoted, appears also here as a dedication.

him smiling, and love him frowning too : to love him, sitting upon his knee, and love him under his lash too. . . . Tell your little ones this night the story of 45, the towns taken, the fields fought, tell them of neer 30000 prisoners taken this last year, 500 pieces of ordinance, tell them of the little losse on our side, be sure to let them know it was for the liberty of the English subjects you fought, charge them to preserve the liberties that cost you so dear, but especially the liberties purchased by the blood of Christ, and above all let them know that the God of heaven is the God of England, and hath done all, but his name, and his Sons name, who can tell us? I wish we knew God better, that we might love him more. . . .

"Lastly, since feasts are seldome without beggars, give me leave to be the first : and if we had not been over-bold in detaining you already, I should have been large, even from my soule to beg help from this most Honourable Assembly in foure particulars: 1. I beg for Soules. 2. For Bodies. 3. Estates. 4. Names.

"And for the first, I present you here the tears and cries of many thousands, in the countries we have conquered. who poor souls cry like prisoners at the Grate, Bread, bread, for the Lords sake bread : all you that passe by take Pitty, pittie of us, we have lived upon husks time out of minde. . . . I need not tell this Assembly, that every where the greater party is the Orthodox, and the lesser the Hereticks. . . . Secondly, I have something to beg for the bodies of men : you have had strong cries from widowes and fatherlesse children, whose husbands and fathers have spent their heart-blood in this service : you have many maimed men, which puts me in minde of an expedient for them, if improved : I mean that famous royall Foundation of the Charter-House, or Suttons Hospital, they say worth 5 or 6000 l. per annum. . . . The streets also are swarming with poor, which I refer to the Senators of this Citie, that is glorious many ways, why should it be so beggarly in the matter of beggars? . . . Yet let not my request die. I have lived in a Country, where in seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor lookt upon a drunkard. . . .

"The third boon I beg is for mens estates . . . can

there not yet be found a shorter way to further justice? must that badge of conquest still lye upon us, the Lawes I mean in French? Can there not an expedient be found out in plain English, whereby every one may soon come to his own? May there not be two or three friend-makers set up in every Parish, without whose labour and leave none should implead another? There is one evill I have seen under the Sun, a poor man kept in prison for debt, whereby his spirit is debauched, and he utterly disabled to pay: It is not so abroad. Fourthly and lastly; I beg something for mens names."\*

"The only way I know to reach Gods mind in worship will be to love the truth for its owne sake, yea, to love it when it shall condemn our practices and persons also."†

"I do conceive that the sword will not be sheathed, which is now drawn, till church work be better known. Presbytery and Independency are the ways of worship and church fellowship now looked at, since we hope Episcopacy is confined out and will be buried without expectation of another resurrection. We need not tell the wise whence the Tyranny grew in Churches and how Commonwealths got their pressure in the like kind."‡

"Yea, though my share lies so much in them [slanderous pamphlets] that it would be costly to purchase clean handkerchiefs to wipe off every spattering on my face, and I could as shortly and more truly answer all as he did Bellarmine, with 'Thou lvest.'"

"Quick justice makes quiet commonwealths."

"Good men not good laws must save Kingdoms."‡

His "Good Work for a Good Magistrate," summed up his scheme of reform, proposing among other things, a register of land titles and wills, and suggesting that when that was established the old records of the Tower, being useless monuments of tyranny, might be burned. He also proposed setting up a bank in London like that of Amsterdam, the establishment of public warehouses and docks, the institution of a better system for guarding against fires in London, and the adoption of the Dutch system of providing for the poor throughout the country.

He further says that lawyers would find more real law

\* God's Dolings and Men's Duty.

† Preface to Church Government and Church Covenant.

‡ A Word for the Army and two Words for the Kingdom

and justice in the ten commandments than in their "obsolete precedents."

"The waies and means ordained of God, to bring anie nation to and preserve them in as happie a condition as the world can afford are by

I True Religion maintained and advanced by the magistrate and walked in by the people ;

II True mercie towards the poor practiced and advanced both by Magistrate and People ;

III True Justice and Righteousness amongst both Magistrate and People towards other Nations.\*"

His "Last Legacy" is full of sense, religion, beauty, pathos and poetry and might be quoted from end to end with advantage.

That he was highly esteemed by the best of his own time and profession is evident from the constant use Fairfax and Cromwell made of him, and from letters of such men as John Eliot, Winthrop, Davenport, etc. The latter pays him the following tribute in a letter dated July, 1637.

"Deare and honoured in the Lord—to whom (for Christ and in Him) I owe not onely any service but my self also," etc.

It is fitting to end with a characteristic quotation from the Dictionary of National Biography which, together with Gardiner's "Great Civil War," presents the only adequate or definite view of Peter's life or character that I have found in print :—

"His arguments were rather those of social reformer than a divine. He regarded doctrinal differences as of slight importance, suggested that if the ministers of different views dined oftener together their mutual animosities would disappear, and that if the state would punish every one who spoke against either presbytery or independency, till they could define the terms aright, a lasting religious peace might be established."

\* Good Work for a Good Magistrate.



## EXTRACTS FROM "THE LAST LEGACY."

"And know this, That the necessity of a Christ (which the understanding discovers) will set the Will on work to all duty, and (the worth in Christ it makes manifest) will make the Will delight; unless these two Faculties be thus wrought upon by Word and the Spirit, you will be at a constant loss, and all the miscarriages in Religion have the Ignorance of this for the Fountain. . . . For as I profess myself Orthodox in all Points of Religion . . . so I have desired in nothing to be more Clear than in the Two Doctrines aforesaid; . . . this hath been my Experience, That the Preaching of these Truths have been my greatest Advantage, and of much benefit to Others; though in this I have enough to bewail also.

"To this purpose, Hear the best Men, Keep the best Company, Read the best Books. . . . This one Book (the Bible) well read, will answer any Question, or Case, and you will finde Solomons Proverbs the best Politicks, and Christ crucified the best Divinity. . . . How few pray! How many say words? Oh, how many say their Prayers backwards, call him Father, who is not their Father, would not have his Name hallowed, nor his Kingdom Come? . . . You cannot be so bad as he (God) is good. . . . It is hard to Watch, most are very Drowsie; The Disciples themselves could not Watch one Hour. . . . The Lord is forced to keep us waking by Affliction, as the Thorn to the singing Bird. . . . Do not grieve Conscience twice, it must be your best friend, yea when friends, and world, and all shall leave you to solitariness. If it whimper a little, do not make it roar out; and yet do not stille it, but attend it, and carry it up to Mount Calvary for peace. Remember, good Conscience and Sin cannot live together; Let but this Bird sing sweetly within, and let Heaven and Earth come together, thou shalt be safe (my poor child).

"The Kingdom of Heaven must suffer Violence; Violent Faith, Love, Prayer, Must storm it. . . you may easier make bares to the Sea, and order the Influences of Heaven than call back yesterday. . . .

"This Herb [Content] grows in very few gardens, But Oh that you might be truly content! You will find a But

upon all your Comforts ; and therefore you cannot be contented. . . .

" Riches have Eagles wings, and Beauty but skin deep ; Honour in another's keeping ; Friends and all, are but waking dreams. . . .

" I commend unto you meekness of spirit ; be loving to all ; envy none. You know what a Promise the Meek have. . . . Meekness carries many good things with it, as Love, Piety, Patience, etc. . . . Meekness will make smooth all your wayes, disappoint Enemies of the advantage they may take against you ; And your love will not only cover many sins, but help many out of them. . . .

" Oh ! how can we lift wrathful hands to Heaven. They say Anger is the Boiling of the Blood about the Heart ; I am sure it cools the Heart in Spirituals ; God took this to himself when he discovered his Name to Moses ; *a pitiful, pardoning, long suffering God*. . . . \* The Lord make you Meek from the true Root (my dear Child). . . .

" Thoughts are not free, nor words wind, they will judge us one day. . . .

" Read and know, That Whilest you look too much into others Gardens, you will neglect your own. . . .

" If your Fancy be not well-fed, your Thoughts (like Millstones) will grinde themselves. Spirits rais'd and not imploy'd, will torment the Witch that rais'd them. . . . Be content to be a Shrub, Cedars will shake ; and never desire to be near Greatness, Honour often dies grinning and ghastly, our business must be our own, as well as our crosse. To meddle with other mens work will be thankless, as to take other mens Physick will be useless, if not dangerous. . . . The Busie-body is but a Pedlar to carry up and down, and vend the Devils Wares. How few lose anything by quietness, and doing their own work ? . . . David got his great wound upon this neglect, and Peter his, by warming his hands when he should have been breaking his heart in secret.

" Oh keep home, keep home ; I speak experience to you, who never found good hour but in mine own work. . . . Be always ready to say, I am where the Lord would have me to be. . . . Sew up your mouth, but let it be with Honestie ;

\* The Italics are the compiler's ; remarkable words for those days !

not Policie. As you never hurt yourself by speaking little, so will you never gain anything by telling a Lie.

"Much of Wit must be pared off before it will be useful.

"You shall never have comfort in suffering for Folly.

"There are two very good Turns in Mans Life; the one is a lawful Calling; the other is marriage: and miscarriages in either are almost irrecoverable. . . . This Conjugateness (like a yoke) must still be lined with more Love to make the draught easie. . . .

"They [husband and wife] need to pray out, not quarrel out their first bubblings; They need at first to dwell much in their own duties, before they step into each others. . . .

"Many dying men speak much about the Vanity of the World. But truly, as I would not die in a pet, so I would not quarrel with or leave the World, because I could be no greater in it, but because I not do, nor be better in it and that God is pleased I should leave it for a better.

"And whilst I am in the World, and advising about it, there is a great Raritie in the World, if you could reach it, and that is a Friend, which is a Commoditie so very scarce, that it will be your wisdom to look upon a Friend this day, as likely to be an Enemy to-morrow. . . . Fair Dove-coats have most pigeons; Lost Estates have no Friends.

"A Friend must have three qualifications; he must have the art and skill of a Friend, few know it; must have the bowels and mercie of a Friend, which most want; and lastly must have Faithfulness, the great ingredient. . . .

"Though it be not safe to dig at Foundations often, lest we shake the Building; so our great care is to have sound Foundations to build upon. . . .

"Be willing to want what God is not willing to give. . . .

"Whoever fears to sin, never sins by fear. . . .

"In the night the waking Child in the cradle is quiet at the Nurses coming to it, because there is more of comfort in the Nurse than fear in the Dark. . . . And then he perswaded to set a right value on all earthly, perishing, dying things; do not call a Pebble a Pearl. . . .

"For a little needle will draw a long tail of Thread after it. . . .

"My Child, to believe things incredible, to hope things delayed, and to love God when he seems angry, Are Luthers wonders and mine, and thine.

"A well led life is the best Monument."

## .. MY WISHES.

I Wish your Lamp and Vessel full of Oyl,  
 Like the Wise Virgins (Which all Fools neglect)  
 And the Rich Pearl, for which the Merchants toyl.  
 Yea, how to purchase are so circumspect :  
 I wish you that White Stone with the New Name,  
 Which none can read but who possess the same.

I wish you neither Poverty, nor Riches,  
 But Godlinesse, so gainful, with Content,  
 No painted Pomp, nor Glory that bewitches :  
 A blamelesse life is the best Monument :  
 And such a Soul that soars above the Skie,  
 Well pleas'd to live, but better pleas'd to die.

I wish you such a Heart as Mary had,  
 Minding the main, open'd as Lydea's was ;  
 A Hand like Dorcas, who the Naked clad ;  
 Feet like Joanna's passing to Christ apace.  
 And above all, to live your selfe to see  
 Married to Him, who must your Saviour be."

"Whoever would live long and Blessedly, let him observe these Following Rules, by which he shall attain to that which he desireth"

Thoughts	Divine, Awful, Godly
Talk	Little, Honest, True
Works	Profitable, Holy, Charitable
Manners	Grave, Courteous, Cheerful
Dyet	Temperate, Convenient, Frugal
" Let thy Apparel	Be Sober, Neat, Comely,
Will	Comfiant, Obedient, Ready
Sleep	Moderate, quiet, Seasonable
Prayers	Short, Devout, Often, Fervent
Recreation	Lawful, Brief, Seldom
Memory	Of Death, Punishment, Glory"

These fragments of a useful and active life can be no more fittingly ended than by quoting the preface to the Last Legacy written by another hand.

"To the Impartial Reader. Be not Discouraged from reading this small Treatise, because of the unhappy End of a Wearisome pilgrimage, which the Author met with in this world ; If we get a fall in a journey, or meet with a great showre of rain so it be in the close of the day when we are near our Inn, where we meet with accomodation and refreshment, we are the less troubl'd ;

Yet such was his case (who for many years was very Instrumental in the Church of God, and a means of bringing many Souls to Christ; and for the Good of others came into this Kingdom when it was in a flame of Civil War, which hath signd\* him also, that he might escape everlasting flames) in this Discourse he bewails the vanity of his own Spirit; and we will not Excuse him; he finds himself too busie in Aliena Republica and we will not justifie him; But if that precious Gold should be cast away because there is some Dross, or the Children of God cast out of the Family for every fault though heinous, we should condemn the Generation of the just: You will find in the Legacy to his only Child that he had a Root of Grace, and that the Fountain was clear from which ran so savoury a stream, And that at the last when he had no hope to save a frail Body, yet he minded his own and others Souls, And that he was a Master Workman in that Mysterie, wherein he had laboured successfully so many years, And we hope that notwithstanding the prejudicacie of some against him and the words of others, and his sad shameface Catastrophy, we may charitably judge that God hath wiped all Tears from his Eyes, that he is entered into Rest, his Works following him; and that he is made perfect by his great Suffering; And with the same to you, except these Bonds. G. F. N. B.

\* Singed.

## LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED.

- Anglia Rediviva, England's Recovery.* The History of the Motions, Actions and Successes of the Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax, by Joshua Sprigge, M.A. London, 1647.
- Annals of Salem* by J. B. Felt, 2 vols. Salem, 1845.
- A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Orphelin Child*, or Mr. Hugh Peters Advice to his Daughter, written by his own Hand, during his late Imprisonment in the Tower of London: And given her a little before his Death. London, Printed for G. Calvert and T. Brewster, and are to be sold at the Black-spread Eagle, and at the Three Bibles, at the West-End of Pauls, 1660.
- Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, a Catalogue of the writings, both Manuscript and Printed, of Cornishmen and of works relating to the county of Cornwall, by George Clement Boase, and William Prideaux Courtney. London, 1882.
- Chronological Observations of America*, by John Josselyn, Gent. (Massachusetts Historical Collections, 3d series, Vol. 3, page 355). London, 1674.
- Complete Collection of State Trials*, from the earliest period. William Cobbett. London, 1792.
- A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.*, Secretary, first to the Council of State, and afterwards to the Two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell; 7 vols. London, 1742.
- Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, by Alexander Young. Boston, 1846.
- Collections of Scarce and Valuable Tracts of the late Lord Somers*. London, 1812.
- The Case of Mr. Hugh Peters*, Impartially Communicated to the View and Censure of the Whole World: Written by his own hand. London [1660].
- Oliver Cromwell's Speeches and Letters*; by Thomas Carlyle; 4 vols. New York, 1897.
- Preface to Church Government and Church Covenant*, by Hugh Peters. London, 1643. (The article itself is by Richard Mather.)
- Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Sidney Lee. New York, 1896.
- The Diary and Memoirs of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.*; edited by William Bray, Esq. London and New York. (Preface of 1815 edition.)
- Diary of Thomas Burton*, Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell from 1656-1659, now first published from the Original Autograph Manuscript with an Introduction containing an Account of the Parliament of 1654, from the Journal of Guibon Goddard, Esq., F.R.S.; also now first printed. Edited and Illustrated with Notes Historical and Biographical by John Towill t; 4 vols. London, 1818.

- The Ecclesiastical History of New England*, comprising not only religious but also moral, and other relations, by Joseph B. Felt; 2 vols. Boston, 1855.
- God's Doings and Man's Duty*, Opened in a Sermon preached before both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, and the Assembly of Divines; at the last Thanksgiving Day, April 2. For the recovering of the West, and disbanding 5000 of the King's Horse, &c. By Hugh Peters, Preacher of the Gospel. London, 1646.
- History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* from the first Settlement thereof in 1628 until its Incorporation with the Colony of Plimouth Province of Main, &c., by Mr. Hutchinson. London, 1765.
- Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peter* after the manner of Mr. Bayle (by Dr. William Harris), published anonymously. London, 1751.
- The History of Massachusetts*, by John Stetson Barry; 3 vols. Boston, 1855.
- The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England*, together with an Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, by Edward, Earl of Clarendon; 7 vols. London, 1849.
- History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, by John Winthrop, Esq., first Governor of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, from his original Manuscripts with notes by James Savage; 2 vols. Boston, 1826. (Also called Winthrop's Journal.)
- History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A., LL.D.; 3 vols. London, 1886.
- Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments*, beginning the Sixteenth Year of King James, Anno 1618. Digested in order of Time and now published by John Rushworth of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. London, 1659.
- The Harleian Miscellany*; 10 vols. London, 1810.
- Life of Roger Williams*, by John Knowles.
- Massachusetts Historical Society, Historical Collections.*
- Memoir of Hugh Peters*, by Joseph B. Felt (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. v). Boston, 1851.
- Memorials of the Civil War*, comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax family with the most distinguished personages engaged in that memorable contest, now first published from the original Manuscripts; edited by Robert Bell; 2 vols. London, 1849.
- Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, with a Collection of Original Papers, and the Case of King Charles the First. London, 1771.
- Memorials of the English affairs*; or an Historical account of what passed from the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First, to King Charles the Second, His Happy Restauration, containing

- the Publick Transactions, Civil and Military together with The Private Consultations and Secrets of the Cabinet. By Mr Whitelock. London, 1732.
- Memoirs of Samuel Poppys Esq., F.R.S.*, comprising his Diary from 1659 to 1669 and Selections from his Private Correspondence; edited by Richard Lord Braybrooke. London, 1825.
- Magnalia Christi Americana*, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England from its first planting in the year 1620 into the year of our Lord 1698; in 7 books by Cotton Mather, Pastor of the North Church in Boston, New England. London, 1702.
- The Publications of the Hurleian Society*, established 1869. London.
- Plain Dealing*, or Newes from New England, by Thomas Lechford, Clement's Inne, January 17, 1641 (Massachusetts Historical Collections, 3d series, Vol. 3, page 54). London, 1642.
- Peters' Pattern*, or 'The Perfect Path to Worldly Happiness. As it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon preached at the interment of Mr. Peters lately deceased. London, Printed in the Year 1659 (a burlesque).
- The Parochial History of Cornwall*, by Davies Gilbert, 1838.
- Roger Williams*, the pioneer of religious liberty, by Oscar S. Straus. New York, 1894.
- Left, Lion Gardener*, Relation of the Pequot Warres (Massachusetts Historical Collections, 3d series, Vol. 3, page 131).
- Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, printed by order of the Legislature edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff; 5 vols. Boston, 1854.
- The Tryall and Condemnation of Mr. John Cooke*, Solicitor to the late High court of Injustice, and Mr Hugh Peters, that carnall Prophet. For their severall High-treasons, &c. At the Sessions-house in the Old-baily, on Saturday the 13. of October, 1660. Together with, Their severall Pleas and the Answers thereunto. London, Printed for John Stafford and Edward Thomas, 1660.
- The Tales and Jests of Mr Hugh Peters*, completed into one volume. Published by one that hath formerly been conversant with the Author in his Lifetime, and Dedicated to Mr John Goodwin and Mr Philip Nye. Together with his Sentence and the Manner of his Execution: To which is prefixed a Short Account of his Life. London, 1660. Reprinted, London, 1807.

This reprint contains the well-known frontispiece of Peter in the pulpit with three scrolls issuing from his mouth and bearing the words: Blasphemy, Rebellion, Heresie; also an hour-glass in his hand. A side beam of light (or so it seems) is inscribed: "I know you are all good fellows, stay and take the other glass." *A Word for the Army and two Words for the Kingdom.* To clear the one and cure the other. Forced in much Plainness and Brevity



from their faithful Servant Hugh Peters. London, 1647 (Harleian Miscellany; Vol. v, page 607).

*Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour*, Being a Relation of the first Planting on New England, in the year 1628 (Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2d series, Vol. 3, page 123).

*An Exact and most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, and Judgment* (according to Law) *of nine and twenty Regicides*, the Murtherers Of His Late Sacred Majesty Of Most Glorious Memory: Began at Hicks-Hall on Tuesday, the 9th of October, 1660. And Continued at the Sessions House in the Old-Bayley until Friday, the nineteenth of the same Moneth. Together with a Summary of the Dark and Horrid Decrees of those Caballists Preparatory to that Hellish Fact. Exposed to view for the Reader's Satisfaction, and Information of Posterity. Imprimatur; John Berkenhead: London, Printed for Andrew Crook at the Green Dragon in St Paul's Church-yard, and Edward Bonsel at the White-Swan in Little-Britain, 1660.





JUST  
RECEIVED





LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 021 434 081 1